POEMS,

WRITTEN ANNO MCCCLII.

BY LAURENCE MINOT.

WITH

Introductory Dissertations

ON THE

SCOTISH WARS OF EDWARD III.

ON HIS

CLAIM TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE,

AND

Notes and Glossary.

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PREFACE

TO THE

EDITION OF MDCCXCV.

THE neglect which writers of genius are occasionally condemned to experience, as well from their contemporaries as from posterity, was never exemplified, perhaps, in a more eminent degree than by the poet whose works are now offered to the public. His very name appears totally unknown to Leland, Bale, Pitts, and Tanner: it is mentioned, in short, by no one writer, till late in the present century, nor is found to occur in any catalogue: while the silence of the public records would induce us to believe that the great

monarch whom he has so eloquently and earnestly panegyrised was either ignorant of his existence or insensible of his merit.*

That these equally elegant and spirited compositions were at length retrieved from the obscurity in which they had been for ages interred, was owing to a whimsical circumstance, which it may not be impertinent to relate. The compiler of the Catalogue of Cottonian Manuscripts, printed at Oxford in 1696, or some person whom he employed, had contented himself with describing the inestimable volume, marked GALBA E. IX. which contains some of the most precious relics of ancient English poetry, in these words: "CHAUCER. *Exemplar emendate scriptum.*" The manuscript, it must be confessed, is very *fairly*, and also pretty *correctly* written, if either be the

* Of this monarch, who gave to Chaucer an office in the customs, upon condition that he wrote his accounts with his own hand, it has already been observed, that, "though adorned with many royal and heroic virtues," he "had not the gift of discerning and patronizing a great poet." Vide Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, by Tyrwhitt, 1775, 8vo. vol. i. p. xxviii.

meaning of *emendate*, but owes not the smallest obligation to the great poet whose genuine works might, naturally enough, have been expected to occupy the whole. The indolence of the catalogue-maker being equal to his ignorance, readily converted the name of RICHARD CHAWFER, scrawled, perhaps, by some former proprietor of the volume, on a spare leaf, into that of GEOFFREY CHAUCER, the supposed author of its contents. To this fortunate blunder, however—if a blunder there was to be—we are indebted for our acquaintance with the name and writings of LAURENCE MINOT, whom one of a different nature might have consigned to perpetual oblivion. The late ingenious and industrious Mr. Tyrwhitt, in preparing materials for his admirable edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, consulted the manuscript for the purpose of collating an *accurate* copy of his favourite author. His disappointment, which may be easily imagined, would be very speedily converted into the most agreeable sur-

prise, on finding himself thus unexpectedly introduced to the acquaintance of a new poet, anterior, perhaps, to that favourite in point of time, and certainly not his inferior with respect to language. In consequence of this happy discovery, the name of LAURENCE MINOT, which he himself has luckily taken care to preserve, was first ushered into the modern world by a note to the learned "Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer."

A copy of these poems having been communicated to the Rev. Thomas Warton, of Oxford, some extracts from them appeared, with sufficient aukwardness indeed, in the third volume of his *History of English Poetry*, published in 1781. Those extracts, however, are by no means undistinguished by the general inaccuracy which pervades that interesting and important work. Its author, confident in great and splendid abilities, would seem to have disdained the too servile task of cultivating the acquaintance of ancient dialect

or phraseology, and to have contented himself with publishing, and occasionally attempting to explain, what, it must be evident, he did not himself understand. That an English writer of the first eminence should never have heard of the name of BALIOL, must excite surprise: and yet this appears to have been the case of our poetical historian, who, in his certainly bold, but not less erroneous, attempts to elucidate one of the following poems, makes "Edward THE BALIOLFE" to mean "Edward THE WARLIKE," that is, "Edward THE THIRD," who "is introduced," he says, "by Minot, as resisting the Scotish invasion in 1347 [1346] at Nevil's Cross, near Durham;"* though every child might be ex-

* *The* is well known to be the northern corruption of *de*: hence *the* Bruce, *the* Baliol, of the Scotish poets. See Barbour's *Life of Bruce*, passim. Thus, also, *Philippe de Valois* is here called "*Philip the Valas*." The name of *Baliol* was frequently written *Bailolf*, or *Bailliof*, in the age of our poet. In Mores's *Nomina Nobilium Equitumque sub Edw. I.* 1749, 4to. we find "sir Thomas de *Bailolf*;" and in a list of Durham knights, in the time of Henry III. preserved in an ancient manuscript, called *The Boldon-buke*, from its containing a copy of that record, in the auditor's office, Durham,

pected to know that this monarch was, upon that occasion, at the siege of Calais; and, in fact, he is, in the very poem alluded to, expressly stated to be "out of the londe." With respect to the age of the manuscript, which the same gentleman attributes to the reign of Henry VI. he was probably misled by the person who transmitted the poems, as it may very fairly be referred to that of Richard II. though some pieces, it is true, are inserted by a later hand, and of a more modern date.

That these poems were written, or at least completed, in the beginning of the year 1352, according to the present stile, is not a mere circumstance of probability, but may be clearly demonstrated by internal evidence and matter of fact. The latest event they commemorate is the capture of Guisnes Castle, which happened,

"sir John de *Bailliof*, sir Hugh de *Bailliof*, sir Eustace de *Bailliof*." Blind Harry, the Scotish Homer; calls John *de Baliol*, "Jhon *the Balzoune*."

according to Avesbury, on saint Vincent's day, January 22, 1351-2; and it is manifest that the concluding poem, of which that capture is the subject, was written in "winter," most likely in February, while the fact was recent, and the captors were in possession of the place, which, we learn from Stow, they did not long occupy.* The fact, indeed, might have been inferred from other circumstances: that the duke of Lancaster, who is familiarly mentioned by that title, was only so created the 6th of March, 1350-1; and that some great events quickly succeeded the year 1352, which, as our author has not celebrated nor alluded to them, it may be presumed he did not live to witness. MINOT, of course, is to be regarded as a poet anterior not

* Stow's account, whencesoever he had it, is not every where clear. If Avesbury be right, and the ambassadors from the earl of Guisnes did not arrive in London before the day of St. Maurice the abbot, which is the 15th of January, John de Doncaster must have kept possession till the following year, 1352-3; which is highly improbable.

only to Chaucer, who, in 1352, was but twenty-four years of age, and had not, so far as we know, given any proofs of a poetical imagination, but also to Gower, who, though he survived that writer, was probably his senior by some years. He cannot, at the same time, be considered as the first of English poets, since, not to mention the hermit of Hampole, the prolixity of whose compositions is compensated more by their piety than by their spirit, he is clearly posterior to Robert [Mannyng] of Brunne;* whose namesake of Gloucester is, in fact, the Ennius of this numerous family.†

* Robert Mannyng of Brunne, or Bourn, in Lincolnshire. He translated into English rhymes, from the French of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, a treatise called *Manuel de Pechés*, as early as the year 1303. This work of his has not been printed, but is preserved in MS. Harl. 1701, and in the Bodleian, 2323. He also translated from the French an history of England; the first part, or *Gesta Britonum*, from Master Wace; the remainder, to the death of Edward I. from Peter of Langtoft, which translation he finished in 1338 or 9. The latter part, with some extracts from the former, was printed by Hearne, in 1725, from a single manuscript.

† How long Mannyng was employed upon his translation of Langetoft does not appear; but that he had not finished it in 1337 is clear

It seems pretty clear, from our author's dialect and orthography, that he was a native of one of the northern counties, in some monastery whereof the manuscript which contains his poems, along with many others in the same dialect, is conjectured to have been written; and to which, at the same time, it is not improbable that he himself should have belonged. Chance, however, may one day bring us somewhat better acquainted with his history.

The creative imagination and poetical fancy which distinguish Chaucer, who, considering the general barbarism of his age and country, may be regarded as a prodigy, admit, it must be acknowledged, of no competition; yet, if the truth

from a passage in p. 243 of the printed copy: and, indeed, he elsewhere, at p. 341, expressly tells us,

> "Idus that is of May left i tow rite this ryme,
> B letter & Friday bi ix. that zere zede prime."

The dominical letter, as Hearne observes, should be D: so that the poet finished his work, upon which he had probably been engaged for some years, on Friday, the 15th of May, 1339.

may be uttered, without offence to the established reputation of that pre-eminent genius, one may venture to assert that, in point of ease, harmony, and variety of versification, as well as general perspicuity of style, LAURENCE MINOT is, perhaps, equal, if not superior, to any English poet before the sixteenth, or even, with very few exceptions, before the seventeenth century. There are, in fact, but two other poets who are any way remarkable for a particular facility of rhyming and happy choice of words: Robert of Brunne, already mentioned, who wrote before 1340, and Thomas Tusser, who wrote about 1560.

As to what concerns the present publication, it may be sufficient to say, that the poems are printed, with scrupulous fidelity, from the only manuscript copy of them known to exist. All abbreviations have been entirely discarded; as hath likewise the character *y*; the improper representative, though peculiar, perhaps, at that period, to the northern scribes, of the

Saxon þ. The letter *z*, however, is retained; a retention which can require no apology, after the respectable examples of a Ruddiman and a Percy; notwithstanding they may have been ranked among "ignorant editors," for the preservation of "this stupid blunder."* Its power, at the same time, is, in these poems, every where that of the modern *y*, consonant; though, on many occasions, it is the substitute of *gh*.

It may be requisite to apprise the reader, that our author, like Chaucer, and, perhaps, other poets of the same age, makes occasional use of the *e* feminine, which renders it necessary, in pronunciation, to divide, in some cases, what in others is a single syllable: a liberty upon which the metre and harmony of his lines will now and then be found essentially to depend. Thus, for

* See *Ancient Scottish Poems*, 1786, p. 520. The assertion made in the same page, that the letter *z*, "in the old editions," is "carefully distinguished from the" *y* consonant, in the manner there described, seems to be hazarded without the slightest authority or foundation.

instance, in page 1, line 8, the word "dedes" is to be pronounced as a dyssallable, "dedés;" though, in the very next line but one, it is equally requisite to be pronounced as a monosyllable. In the same predicament are "Scottés," p. 3, l. 5, and "Scottes, p. 4, l. 4, and "bowés," p. 20, l. 10, and "bowes," p. 23, l. 4. The use of the acute accent, which has been introduced in a few instances of proper names, may, perhaps, be thought no less proper in the case spoken of; but, beside that there is only a single manuscript, the writer of which, not having received the terrible injunction layed upon *Adam Scrivinere*,* was possibly unaware of the poet's intention, one must not forget the sentiment of a most ingenious and accurate person upon this subject: that "a reader, who cannot perform such operations for himself, had better not trouble his head about the versifiation of 'ancient author.'"† It

* See Urry's *Chaucer*, p. 626.
† *Canterbury Tales*, 1775, vol. iv. p. 95

may, therefore, be deemed sufficient to add, in the words of the same excellent critic, that "the true *e* feminine is always to be pronounced with an obscure evanescent sound, and is capable of bearing any stress or accent."*

The NOTES which accompany these poems are given chiefly from some ancient manuscript, from the old English translation of Froissart, an almost contemporary writer, and from the *Chronicles* of Fabian, Holinshed, and Stow; but more especially from that of Froissart, the extracts from which, though occasionally prolix, as it is a book of great rarity, may be excused, if not welcomed, by most readers, on account of their novelty. The language of this translation, however obsolete it may now appear, was doubtless esteemed perfectly elegant at the court of king Henry the Eighth: it being the work of a very eminent and accomplished nobleman of that period.

* The latter is never implied by the acute accent; but Urry, out of ignorance, adopted the grave accent, which always requires it.

As the general information which appeared necessary to illustrate the two principal subjects of MINOT's poetry—his hero's wars with Scotland and with France—was thought too long for the notes, it has been thrown into the form of DISSERTATIONS. This, however, being an afterthought, has occasioned some repetitions, which the reader is desired to pardon.

No word of the least difficulty has been intentionally omitted in the GLOSSARY; though many words, peculiar to our author, are necessarily submitted to farther investigation; as it seems no part of an editor's duty to save his readers the trouble of guessing at the meaning of expressions for which they cannot possibly be more at a loss than he is himself.

INTRODUCTORY

DISSERTATIONS.

I.

ON THE SCOTISH WARS OF KING EDWARD III.

The male line of the royal family of Scotland having become extinct by the death of Alexander III. in the year 1285-6, and the young queen Margaret of Norway, his grand-daughter, the only surviving descendant of Henry, prince of Cumberland, eldest son of David I. dying an infant, in 1290, several persons, in different rights, laid claim to the crown; and the regency of Scotland, either unable or unwilling to decide

the contest, solicited the assistance of king Edward I. This monarch, powerful, ambitious, and politic, readily accepted the office of arbitrator; but, previously to a decision upon the claims of others, he thought it necessary to determine a claim of his own, which was, to be superior and lord paramount of the kingdom of Scotland: a claim which the competitors, whether through ignorance, timidity, or prudence, unanimously acknowledged; and, in that character, they obliged themselves, by a solemn instrument, to sbumit to his award; the regency and baronage of Scotland, at the same time, not only surrendering the kingdom, but doing homage and swearing fealty, as to their liege lord, in order to enable him, as he pretended, to carry it the more effectually into execution. This meeting was held, by adjournment, at a small village on the north side of the Tweed, opposite to the castle of Norham, in the beginning of June, 1291, and was further adjourned to the second of August, in the

same year; when the claims were to be received by commissioners named for the purpose, who were to report the result to Edward. The competitors, accordingly, at this adjourned meeting, delivered in their claims, which amounted to thirteen: but, most of them being very frivolous, they were, by different means, finally reduced to two: those of John de Baliol and Robert de Brus, or Bruce, both powerful barons, as well in England as in Scotland; Baliol being the grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter of David earl of Huntingdon, second son of David I. and Bruce the son of Isabel, the second daughter of the same nobleman. The sole question, therefore, left to the decision of Edward, was whether the issue of an elder sister, more remote in one degree, was to be preferred to the issue of a younger sister, nearer in one degree; and his definitive judgment was, that Baliol should have seisin of the kingdom of Scotland, saving the right of the king of England and his heirs. Seisin being

accordingly delivered, Baliol was crowned at Scone, on the 30th of November, 1292, and on the 26th of the following month did homage to his liege lord, at Newcastle upon Tyne. This adjudication of the English monarch, however unsatisfactory in its consequences, was self-evidently just; and supposing, with the learned and ingenious Ruddiman, the Scots of that period to have thought otherwise, namely, that the child of a younger daughter was to be preferred, in an indivisible inheritance, to the grandchild of an elder, they must certainly have been very confused and inconsequential reasoners.

In the year 1295, Baliol, who had been repeatedly cited before the English parliament, on the complaint of his own subjects, and seems, in short, to have had his patience completely, and perhaps intentionally, wearied out by the domineering insolence of his lord paramount, entered into an alliance with Philip the Fair, king of France, and committed some petty devestation

upon the English borders. Edward, glad of his vassal's rebellion, Baliol having formally renounced his allegiance, immediately took Berwick, and, by his general, the earl of Warren, defeated the Scots at Dunbar. The castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, speedily surrendered; and, to conclude, Baliol, on the 2d of July, 1296, in the most humiliating manner that could be devised, expressed contrition for his offences, and resigned his crown, kingdom, and people, into the hands of his liege lord, who once more received the fealty of his Scotish subjects, as their immediate and lawful sovereign.

In the following year, 1297, the Scots, under the command of the illustrious William Wallace, defeated the English in repeated engagements, and drove them out of the country. Edward again invaded it, and again, after a spirited opposition, reduced it to subjection. Baliol, whom he had retained in custody from the time of his resignation, was now sent over to France, and

delivered into the hands of the pope's nuncio, to be disposed of at his holiness's pleasure. The younger Bruce, who had been chosen one of the guardians of Scotland, in the name of his father's rival, and had surrendered himself to the English, dying in 1304, was, with Edward's consent, succeeded in his Scotish inheritances by his eldest son.

Edward seemed now to have attained the summit of his ambitious views: but the calm was transient and delusive. Four months sufficed to overthrow a system, which, it has been observed, "the incessant labour of fifteen years had established by dissimulation, craft, and violence, with a waste of treasure, and the effusion of much blood."

On the 10th of February, 1305-6, Robert Bruce, grandson to the competitor, arrived in Scotland; and, having appointed an interview with John Comyn, lord of Cumbernauld, a nobleman of the first consequence in that kingdom, in

the church of the Minorites at Dumfries, stabbed him before the high altar. The immediate causes of Bruce's leaving the English court, of his requesting this conference, and of its violent issue, are not known. It is, however, highly probable that he came down resolved to assert his pretensions to the Scotish crown; and, naturally anxious to attach to his party the most powerful baron in his realm, had proposed terms, the rejection of which gave rise to an altercation, which terminated in his opponent's death. But whatever was, in fact, the subject of the conversation, to which no third person appears to have been privy, it is certain that Bruce, though excommunicated as a sacrilegious murderer, did not think it necessary to publish his vindication. He was probably satisfied in having got rid of one whose friendship he found it impracticable to obtain, and whose enmity might have furnished an insuperable barrier to his attempt.*

* The notion entertained by lord Hailes and others, that Comyn,

On the 27th of March, 1306, Bruce was solemnly crowned at Scone: and, on the 7th of June, 1329, died in the full and peaceable possession of that sovereignty which he had struggled through numerous difficulties, and against the most potent enemies, to restore and establish.

Previously, however, to this event, Edward II. the son and successor of Edward I. who died on his expedition against Scotland, the 7th of July, 1307; after a turbulent and disgraceful reign, had, in January, 1326-7, been formally deposed from the sovereignty, by the queen and her faction, who had placed his crown on the head of the young prince of Wales, now Edward III. and a treaty of peace between the two kingdoms had been concluded at Northampton, in April, 1328; of which one article was, that Joan, sister to the English monarch, should be given in marriage to David, the only son of the king of Scots. This

in right of his mother, Marjory, sister to Baliol, had himself some contingent pretensions to the crown, seems destitute of foundation.

marriage having accordingly taken place, David II. and his queen,—he being in his eighth year, and she about the same age,—were crowned at Scone, on the 24th of November, 1331.

John Baliol, who died in France in 1314, had left an elder son, Edward, the heir of his pretensions; and this youth the king of England had, in 1330, taken under his protection, and formally permitted to reside there for a twelvemonth.

Though, by an express article in the treaty of Northampton, no restitution was to be made by either sovereign of inheritances which had fallen into his hands by the forfeiture of former proprietors, an exception was introduced in favour of Thomas lord Wake, Henry de Beaumont, and Henry de Percy, who were to be restored to the estates of which the king of Scots, by reason of the war between the two nations, had already taken possession. This article had been fulfilled with respect to Percy, and Edward had repeatedly, though ineffectually, demanded its per-

formance in favour of Wake and Beaumont. These noblemen, therefore, in conjunction with the other disinherited barons, having prevailed upon young Baliol, who arrived very opportunely for their purpose, to head the enterprise, determined to invade Scotland. Edward, however, who affected publicly to oppose a design which he privately countenanced, would not suffer them to enter that kingdom by the English marches; as such a measure would have been in open violation of the peace of Northampton, of which he appeared very tenacious. They, therefore, changed their plan to an invasion by sea; and, having embarked with their forces in the Humber, landed at or near Kinghorn, in the Firth of Forth, on the 6th of August, 1332. The earl of Fife, who opposed their landing with a few hasty levies, being quickly defeated, Baliol marched to Dunfermline, and attacking the Scotish army under the command of Donald earl of Mar, the new regent, obtained a victory, which to the

English was as easy and honourable, as to the Scots it is, even by their own historians, allowed to have been bloody and disgraceful. The regent, whose ignorance appears to have been the chief cause of this national disaster, with many other noblemen, perished in the conflict. Baliol entered Perth on the following day; and, a blockade formed by the earl of March being abandoned, within three weeks after his landing perceived himself in the peaceable possession of a kingdom, and was formally crowned at Scone on the 24th of September. The king of England now thought it prudent, "for the safety of the realm," to draw near the Scotish frontiers; and, while he remained at York, received, from the grateful Baliol, an instrument, executed at Roxburgh Castle, whereby he acknowledged Edward for his liege lord, and covenanted to put him in possession of the town of Berwick, and of other territory on the Scotish marches; offering, moreover, to marry the young queen, to increase her jointure,

and to provide for the dethroned monarch as his said liege lord should advise; and engaging to serve in all his wars, with two hundred men at arms, for a year together, at his own expence. Edward, in return, was to guarantee the possession of Scotland to this mushroom monarch. In the mean time, the friends of the young king were not idle; for, on the 16th of December following, while Baliol was indulging in the sweets of sovereignty at Annan, he was suddenly attacked by the earl of Murray and others, at the head of a party of horse, and escaped with great difficulty into England; his brother, and several other persons of distinction, being slain in his defence. Here he renewed his engagements to Edward; and, by the assistance he received, was enabled to return into Scotland, and quarter himself in the neighbourhood of Roxburgh. The Scots, upon Baliol's flight, having made some inroads upon the borders, the English monarch now formally proclaimed that they had violated

the peace of Northampton; and being resolved, he said, to chastise their outrages, and to seek redress for the injuries which he pretended they had done him, ordered an army to assemble at Newcastle upon Tyne; desiring, at the same time, that public prayers might be offered for his success: a piece of superstition or hypocrisy which Christian sovereigns take particular care never to neglect when they are engaged in the prosecution of an unjust war. He laid siege to Berwick, before which Baliol, who had made him a present of it, had already arrived with his forces, in the beginning of May, 1333; and, the regent attempting to relieve the town, a general engagement ensued, at Halidon-Hill, in which the Scots were discomfited with prodigious slaughter; whereupon the town and fortress of Berwick were immediately surrendered. The young king and queen, who had hitherto resided at Dunbarton Castle, were now conveyed into France; and Baliol again held parliaments, in one of which

the treaty of Roxburgh was ratified, and the town, castle, and territory of Berwick annexed for ever to the English crown. He shortly after surrendered the forests of Jedburgh, Selkirk, and Ettrick; the counties of Roxburgh, Peebles, Dumfries, and Edinburgh; and the constabularies of Linlithgow and Haddington; and, on the 18th of June, 1334, did homage, and swore fealty, to his liege lord, for the kingdom of Scotland, at the town of Newcastle upon Tyne. The partisans of David, however, soon exerted themselves in such a manner as to oblige Baliol to implore, in person, the protection of his feudal sovereign, who, in December, 1334, invaded the country: an invasion which was repeated in the following year. There would seem to have been a contest between this mock-monarch and his liege lord, which of them could most effectually waste and destroy a kingdom, which neither had any longer a hope to enjoy peaceably.* The

* Another pretender, according to Wyntown, started up in the

war was carried on with various success till May, 1341, when, Baliol having previously withdrawn into England, David and his queen arrived from France. The Scots now began to retaliate on the English frontiers; and, in 1346, while Edward was prosecuting his wars in France, David, at the instigation, it is said, of Philip, whom the English monarch had already charged with aiding the Scots, contrary to the conditions of a subsisting truce, assembled a formidable army, and, penetrating into the bishopric of Durham, pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of that city, on the 16th of October. William de la Zouche, then archbishop of York, Henry de Percy, and Ralph de Nevill, under a commission from the regency, headed the English army; and, in an engagement which ensued, called *the battle of Nevil's-cross*, the Scots were routed

person of John of Eltham, earl of Cornwall, only brother to the king of England, whom, in the heat of their altercation upon the subject, he slew with his own hand. See B. VIII. c. xxx.

with great slaughter, and their king, after a gallant resistance taken prisoner: nor, though occasionally permitted to visit his dominions, was he finally released till the 3d of October, 1357, after a captivity of eleven years.

Baliol, who had served in the English army at the battle of Durham, and, from king of Scotland, condescended to become governor of Berwick, seeming now completely sick of sovereignty, made an absolute surrender to Edward, in consideration of five thousand marks, and an annuity of two thousand pounds, as well of his private estates in Scotland as of his nominal kingdom, delivering seisin of the former by a clod of earth, and of the latter by the royal diadem, and inserting in the instrument of surrender a clause of warranty for himself and his heirs against all mortals for ever. This farcical scene passed at Roxburgh Castle, while Edward, it seems, lay at Bamburgh, in Northumberland; and the phantom of departed royalty, who appears, throughout the

process of this political drama, the tool of the more crafty and ambitious Edward, retired into England, where he continued in obscurity till the time of his death, which happened in 1363.

Edward, now become the immediate and absolute sovereign of Scotland, displayed his affection for his new subjects by a fresh inroad and more extensive devastation; being "resolved," he said, "inviolably to maintain the ancient laws and the usages of that kingdom." The English, however, were soon driven out of the country, and the liege lord and assignee of Baliol finally "expressed his willingness to enter into a treaty with the Scots, not only for the ransom of their king, and for a cessation of hostilities, but also for a perpetual peace." *

* See the *Annals of Scotland*, by sir David Dalrymple, lord Hailes. *Edinb.* 1776 9, 2 vols. 4to.

II.

ON THE TITLE OF KING EDWARD III. TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE.

On the death of Charles the Fair, king of France, the last of the three sons and successors of Philip the Fair, in 1328, his wife, Joan d'Evreux, being left pregnant, the office of regent was claimed by Edward III. king of England, then a youth of fifteen, in right of his mother Isabel, only sister of the deceased monarch; his claim being opposed by that of Philip, son of Charles of Valois, younger brother of Philip the Fair. This contest, which involved, in fact, the right of succession to the crown itself, in case the child of which Joan was then pregnant should,

as it did, happen to be a daughter, was, by the French peerage, decided in favour of the latter, who, in virtue of that decision, on the delivery of the queen dowager, succeeded to the vacant throne. In any other country than France, the claim of Edward must unquestionably have been preferred to that of Philip; but by the Salic law, an ancient and established custom of that kingdom, females were incapable of inheriting the crown; and, consequently, Isabel, having no right in herself, could not possibly, as was contended, transmit any to her son. This consequence, however, was denied by Edward, who insisted, that although females were personally excluded, such incapacity did not reach their male descendants; and that he, as the nearest male in blood, ought to be preferred to Philip, who was very far removed. But the argument, if well-founded, clearly proved too much to be of any service to the English monarch, since the male issue of the daughters of former kings must

inevitably have been preferred to him. Those writers who have argued against the existence or force of the law itself have fallen into a similar dilemma; since, it is evident, allowing the descent of the crown to females, that the pretensions of Edward, however preferable to those of Philip, must have been postponed to the right even of Blanch, the new-born daughter of the late king. The validity, therefore, of the Salic law was necessarily admitted by both parties; the only disagreement between them arising from its construction. The fallacy of Edward's claim is manifested by his own arguments; since, in the first place, if the right of the mother were nothing, she, whether living, as she then was, or dead, could transmit none to the son; and, secondly, if she had a right capable of transmission, the male issue of Joan, daughter of Lewis Hutin, of Joan, daughter of Philip the Long, and of Blanch, daughter of Charles the Fair, were clearly to be preferred to the male issue of Isabel,

the sister of those monarchs. It is, therefore, impossible to conceive a claim more frivolous and worse supported than that of Edward to the crown of France. However, as the reasoning of kings is said to consist in force, to that species of logic the disappointed monarch, as soon as he found it convenient, was determined to resort.

Soon after the coronation of Philip of Valois, in 1329, Edward, who held the duchy of Aquitain and county of Ponthieu as a vassal to the crown of France, was summoned to do his fealty for those provinces. This threw him into a great dilemma; for, if he should refuse the required homage, he must inevitably forfeit his territories, which he did not at that period think himself strong enough to defend; and if he performed it, he would, by acknowledging the superiority of Philip, appear to renounce his pretensions to the kingdom itself. Out of this difficulty he was extricated by a salvo worthy of his claim: he protested, in a council of his peers, that what-

ever he was about to perform or promise in France would be done against his will, and to the end only that he might preserve his provinces in that kingdom; of which, after a trifling objection as to the nature of the homage, he received the accustomed investiture.

In the year 1336, after the conclusion of the Scotish wars, Edward began to think it time that he should convince Philip of his superior right to the throne of France by force of arms. To this project he is generally thought to have been determined by the inflammatory eloquence of Robert, earl of Artois, a French refugee, who, to gratify a personal pique against his sovereign, scrupled not to endeavour the destruction of his country; but there can be little doubt that Edward was sufficiently inclined to the measures he adopted, without such diabolical instigation. With this view he formed alliances with many illustrious potentates on the continent; amongst whom were the duke of Brabant, the marquis of

Juliers, the erles of Gelderland and Hainault, the archbishop of Cologne, and, finally, the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, who created him vicar of the empire throughout France, which gave him a colourable authority over his German confederates. James Arteville, likewise, a brewer of Ghent, who had acquired the management of the turbulent Flemings, brought that powerful nation into the league; and, in order to avoid the penalty or reproach of taking up arms against *the king of France*, with whom they had lately concluded a treaty of peace, persuaded Edward to assume that title; but which, it is said, the monarch, as if conscious of the flagrant injustice of the usurpation, was not prevailed on to do without hesitation and difficulty. He now, however, sent the duke of Brabant and marquis of Juliers in formal embassy to Philip, to demand a resignation of the crown; he published manifestos, and wrote letters to the pope: the former, of course, Philip declined, and the latter he refuted or replied to. The two first

campaigns, if Edward's invasions of France may be so called, passed without any action of importance; and a truce, on the intercession of the countess of Hainault, the mother-in-law of Edward and sister of Philip, was agreed to by these rival monarchs. In the mean time, Edward's German allies, disappointed probably in their too sanguine expectations of English gold and French plunder, gradually fell off; and even the emperor, at the instance of Philip, revoked the title of imperial vicar.

On the expiration of the truce, the war was renewed with increased vigour, and the successes of the campaign were crowned with the bloody victory of Cressy, and the long-expected surrender of Calais. A new truce was now concluded on, through the mediation of the pope's legates, during which Philip of Valois died, and was succeeded by his son John, who, on a renewal of the war, was made prisoner at the battle of Poictiers in 1356. This event was followed by

another truce for two years; and Edward's terms of pacification, though accepted by his royal captive, being rejected, as dishonourable and injurious, by the dauphin and states of France, he, in 1359, prepared for a new invasion of that unfortunate kingdom, which accordingly took place; but, becoming sensible that the success of his arms answered no other purpose than to depopulate one country and impoverish the other, he was induced to listen to more reasonable proposals, and a peace was, at length, concluded, on the 8th of May, 1360, of which the principal conditions were, that king John should be set at liberty, on payment of three million crowns of gold; that Edward should for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, as well as to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors; in lieu whereof he was to receive certain other districts, together with the towns of Calais, Guisnes and Montreuil, to be held, along with Guienne, in absolute

sovereignty: but John, finding insuperable difficulties to occur in fulfilling the conditions of the peace on his part, gave a singular proof of monarchical good faith, by returning to his former lodgings in the Savoy, where he died, on the 8th of April, 1364.

The power and possessions of the English every day yielding to the prudence of the new king Charles V. and the conduct of his brave constable Du Guesclin, Edward thought fit to resume the empty title of king of France;* but, after sending repeated, though ineffectual levies into that kingdom, was at length obliged to conclude a truce with the enemy, "after almost

* This title has since continued a part of the royal style, and, by an act of parliament, made in the the 35th year of Henry VIII. was "united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of his highness' realm of England:" as if it consisted with the peculiar morality of kings and nations to perpetuate, with ostentatious and insulting formality, an instance of usurpation and injustice which had been the means of converting an unnatural hatred into a national virtue, of wasting millions of treasure, and of spilling oceans of blood. It has now, indeed, lost its baneful influence, and is become perfectly insignificant and contemptible.

all his ancient possessions," says Hume, "had been ravished from him, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne, and all his new conquests, except Calais." Having survived his eldest son, the black prince, about a year, he expired on the 21st of June, 1377, in the 65th year of his age and the 51st of his reign.*

* See *Schoepflini Commentationes Historicæ et Criticæ. Basil:* 1741, 4to. cap. V. and Hume's *History of England*, vol. ii.

POEMS,

BY

LAURENCE MINOT.

WRITTEN ANNO 1352.

POEMS

BY

LAURENCE MINOT.

I.

LITHES, AND I SALL TELL ZOW TYLL THE BATAILE OF HALIDON-HYLL.

TREW king, that sittes in trone,
  Unto the i tell my tale,
And unto the i bid a bone,
  For thou ert bute of all my bale:
Als thou made midelerd and the mone,
  And bestes and fowles grete and smale,
Unto me send thi socore sone,
  And dresce my dedes in this dale.

In this dale i droupe and dare,
  For dern dedes that done me dere;
Of Ingland had my hert grete care,
  When Edward founded first to were:
The Franche-men war frek to fare
  Ogaines him, with scheld and spere;
Thai turned ogayn, with sides sare,
  And al thaire pomp noght worth a pere.

A pere of prise es more sum tyde
  Than al the boste of Normondye:
Thai sent thaire schippes on ilka side,
  With flesch and wine, and whete and rye;
With hert and hand (es noght at hide)
  For to help Scotland gan thai hye:
Thai fled, and durst no dede habide,
  And all thaire fare noght wurth a flye.

For all thaire fare, thai durst noght fight,
  For dedes dint had thai slike dout;
Of Scotland had thai never sight,
  Ay whils thai war of wordes stout:
Thai wald have mend tham at thaire might,
  And besy war thai thareobout.
Now god help Edward in his right!
  Amen! and all his redy rowt!

His redy rout mot Jhesu spede,
  And save tham both by night and day;
That lord of hevyn mot Edward lede,
  And maintene him als he wele may.
The Scottes now all wide will sprede,
  For thai have failed of thaire pray;
Now er thai dareand all for drede,
  That war bifore so stout and gay.

Gai thai war, and wele thai thoght
  On the erle Morré and other ma;
Thai said it suld ful dere be boght,
  The land that thai war flemid fra.
Philip Valays wordes wroght,
  And said he suld thaire enmys sla:
Bot all thaire wordes was for noght,
  Thai mun be met if thai war ma.

Ma manasinges zit have thai maked,
  Mawgre mot thai have to mede!
And many nightes als have thai waked
  To dere all Ingland with thaire dede:
Bot, loved be god! the pride es slaked
  Of them that war so stout on stede;
And sum of tham es levid all naked,
  Noght fer fro Berwik opon Twede.

A litell fro that forsaid toune,
  Halydon-hill that es the name,
Thare was crakked many a crowne
  Of wild Scottes, and alls of tame;
Thare was thaire baner born all doune;
  To mak slike boste thai war to blame:
Bot nevertheles ay er thai boune
  To wait Ingland with sorow and schame.

Shame thai have, als I here say;
  At Dondé now es done thaire daunce,
And wend thai most another way,
  Even thurgh Flandres into France:
On Filip Valas fast cri thai,
  Thare for to dwell and him avaunce;
And nothing list them than of play,
  Sen tham es tide this sary chance.

This sary chaunce tham es bitid,
  For thai war fals and wonder fell;
For cursed caitefes er thai kid,
  And ful of treson, suth to tell.
Sir Jon the Comyn had thai bid,
  In haly kirk thai did him qwell;
And tharfore many a Skottis brid
  With dole er dight that thai most dwell.

Thare dwelled oure king, the suth to saine,
  With his menzè, a litell while;
He gaf gude confort, on that plaine,
  To all his men obout a myle.
All if his men war mekill of maine,
  Ever thai douted tham of gile;
The Scottes gaudes might nothing gain,
  For all thai stumbilde at that stile.

Thus in that stowre thai left thaire live,
  That war bifore so proud in prese.
Jhesu, for thi woundes five,
  In Ingland help us to have pese!

II.

NOW FOR TO TELL ZOW WILL I TURN
OF [THE] BATAYL OF BANOCBURN.

SKOTTES, out of Berwik and of Abirdene,
At the Bannokburn war ze to kene;
Thare slogh ze many sakles, als it was sene,
And now has king Edward wroken it, i wene:
It es wroken i wene, wele wurth the while;
War zit with the Skottes, for thai er ful of gile.

Whare er ze, Skottes of Saint-Johnes-toune?
The boste of zowre baner es betin all doune;
When ze bosting will bede, sir Edward es boune
For to kindel zow care, and crak zowre crowne:
He has crakked zowre croune, wele worth the while;
Schame bityde the Skottes, for thai er full of gile.

Skottes of Striflin* war steren and stout,
Of god ne of gude men had thai no dout;
Now have thai the pelers priked obout,
Bot at the last sir Edward rifild thaire rout:
He has rifild thaire rout, wele wurth the while;
Bot ever er thai under bot gaudes and gile.

* Stirling.

Rugh-fute riveling, now kindels thi care,
Bere-bag, with thi boste, thi biging es bare;
Fals wretche and forsworn, whider wiltou fare?
Busk the unto brig, and abide thare:
Thare wretche, saltou won, and wery the while;
Thi dwelling in Dondé es done for thi gile.

The Skotte gase in burghes, and betes the stretes,
All thise Inglis-men harmes he hetes;
Fast makes he his mone to men that he metes,
Bot fone frendes he findes that his bale betes:
Fune betes his bale, wele wurth the while;
He uses all threting with gaudes and gile.

Bot many men thretes and spekes ful ill,
That sum tyme war better to be stane-still;
The Skot in his wordes has wind for to spill,
For at the last Edward sall have al his will:
He had his will at Berwik, wele wurth the while.
Skottes broght him the kayes, bot get for thaire gile.

III.

HOW EDWARD THE KING COME IN BRABAND, AND TOKE HOMAGE OF ALL THE LAND.

God, that schope both se and sand,
Save Edward king of Ingland,
Both body, saul and life,
And grante him joy withowten strif;
For mani men to him er wroth,
In Fraunce and in Flandres both:
For he defendes fast his right,
And tharto Jhesu grante him might,
And so to do, both night and day,
That yt may be to goddes pay.
Oure king was cumen, trewly to tell,
Into Brabant for to dwell;
The kayser Lowis of Bavere,
That in that land than had no pere,
He, and als his sons two,
And other princes many mo,
Bisschoppes and prelates war thare fele,
That had ful mekill werldly wele,
Princes and pople, ald and zong,
Al that spac with Duche tung,

All thai come with grete honowre,
Sir Edward to save and socoure,
And proferd him, with all thayre rede,
For to hald the kinges stede.
The duke of Braband, first of all,
Swore, for thing that might bifall,
That he suld, both day and night,
Help sir Edward in his right,
In toun, in feld, in frith and fen;
This swore the duke and all his men,
And al the lordes that with him lend,
And tharto held thai up thaire hend.
Than king Edward toke his rest,
At Andwerp, whare him liked best;
And thare he made his moné playne,
That no man suld say thareogayne;
His moné, that was gude and lele,
Left in Braband ful mekill dele;
And all that land, untill this day,
Fars the better for that jornay.
When Philip the Valas herd of this,
Tharat he was ful wroth, i wis;
He gert assemble his barounes,
Princes and lordes of many tounes;
At Pariss toke thai thaire counsaile,
Whilke pointes might tham moste availe;

And in all wise thai tham bithoght
To stroy Ingland, and bring to noght.
Schip-men sone war efter sent,
To here the kinges cumandment;
And the galaies-men also,
That wist both of wele and wo.
He cumand than that men suld fare
Till Ingland, and for nothing spare,
Bot brin and sla both man and wife,
And childe, that none suld pas with life:
The galay-men held up thaire handes,
And thanked god of thir tithandes.
At Hamton, als i understand,
Come the gaylayes unto land,
And ful fast thai slogh and brend,
Bot noght so mekill als sum men wend;
For or thai wened war thai mett
With men that sone thaire laykes lett.
Sum was knokked on the hevyd,
That the body thare bilevid;
Sum lay stareand on the sternes;
And sum lay knoked out thaire hernes:
Than with tham was none other gle,
Bot ful fain war thai that might fle.
The galay-men, the suth to say,
Most nedes turn another way;

Thai soght the stremis fer and wide,
In Flandres and in Seland syde.
Than saw thai whare Cristofer stode,
At Armouth,* opon the flude;
Than wen thai theder all bidene,
The galayes-men, with hertes kene,
Eight and forty galays and mo,
And with them als war tarettes two,
And other many of galiotes,
With grete noumber of smale botes;
Al thai hoved on the flode,
To stele sir Edward mens gode.
Edward oure king than was noght there,
Bot sone, when it come to his ere,
He sembled all his men full still,
And said to tham what was his will.
Ilk man made him redy then,
So went the king and all his men
Unto thaire schippes ful hastily,
Als men that war in dede doghty.
Thai fand the galay-men, grete wane,
A hundereth ever ogaynes ane;
The Inglis-men put tham to were,
Ful baldly, with bow and spere;

* Yarmouth, in Norfolk.

Thai slogh thare of the galaies-men,
Ever sexty ogaynes ten;
That sum ligges zit in that mire,
All hevidles withowten hire.
The Inglis-men war armed wele,
Both in yren and in stele;
Thai faght ful fast, both day and night,
Als lang als tham lasted might;
Bot galay-men war so many,
That Inglis-men wex all wery:
Help thai soght, bot thar come nane,
Than unto god thai made thaire mane.
Bot, sen the time that god was born,
Ne a hundreth zere biforn,
War never men better in fight
Than Ingliss-men, while thai had myght;
Bot, sone all maistri gan thai mis.
God bring thaire saules untill his blis!
And god assoyl tham of thaire sin,
For the gude will that thai war in! Amen.
Listens now, and leves me,
Who so lifes thai sall se
That it mun be ful dere boght,
That thir galay-men have wroght.
Thai hoved still opon the flode,
And reved pover men thaire gude;

Thai robbed, and did mekill schame,
And ay bare Inglis-men the blame.
Now Jhesu save all Ingland,
And blis it with his haly hand! Amen.

EDWARD, oure cumly king,
In Braband has his woning,
With mani cumly knight;
And in that land, trewly to tell,
Ordains he still for to dwell,
To time he think to fight.

Now god, that es of mightes maste,
Grant him grace of the haly gaste,
His heritage to win;
And Mari moder, of mercy fre,
Save oure king and his menze
Fro sorow, schame and syn.

Thus in Braband has he bene,
Whare he bifore was seldom sene,
For to prove thaire japes;
Now no langer wil he spare,
Bot unto Fraunce fast will he fare,
To confort hym with grapes.

Furth he ferd into France,
God save him fro mischance
  And all his cumpany!
The nobill duc of Braband
With him went into that land,
  Redy to lif or dy.

Than the riche floure de lice
Wan thare ful litill prise,
  Fast he fled for ferde;
The right aire of that cuntre
Es cumen, with all his knightes fre,
  To schac him by the berd.

Sir Philip the Valayse,
Wit his men in tho dayes,
  To batale had he thoght;
He bad his men tham purvay,
Withowten lenger delay,
  Bot he ne held it noght.

He broght folk, ful grete wone,
Ay sevyn ogains one,
  That ful wele wapind were;
Bot sone when he herd ascry,
That king Edward was nere tharby,
  Than durst he noght cum nere.

In that morning fell a myst,
And when oure Ingliss-men it wist,
  It changed all thaire chere;
Oure king unto god made his bone,
And god sent him gude confort sone,
  The weder wex ful clere.

Oure king and his men held the felde
Stalworthly, with spere and schelde,
  And thoght to win his right,
With lordes, and with knightes kene,
And other doghty men bydene,
  That war ful frek to fight.

When sir Philip of France herd tell
That king Edward in feld walld dwell,
  Than gayned him no gle;
He traisted of no better bote,
Bot both on hors and on fote
  He hasted him to fle.

It semid he was ferd for strokes
When he did fell his grete okes
  Obout his pavilyoune;
Abated was than all his pride,
For langer thare durst he noght bide,
  His bost was broght all doune.

The king of Beme had cares colde,
That was ful hardy and bolde,
  A stede to umstride;
[He and] the king als of Naverne
War faire ferd in the ferne
  Thaire heviddes for to hide.

And leves wele it es no lye,
And felde hat Flemangrye
  That king Edward was in,
With princes that war strif ande bolde,
And dukes that war doghty tolde,
  In batayle to bigin.

The princes that war riche on raw
Gert nakers strike, and trumpes blaw,
  And made mirth at thaire might;
Both alblast and many a bow
War redy railed opon a row,
  And ful frek for to fight.

Gladly thai gaf mete and drink,
So that thai suld the better swink,
  The wight men that thar ware.
Sir Philip of Fraunce fled for dout,
And hied him hame with all his rout:
  Coward, god giff him care!

For thare than had the lely-flowre
  Lorn all halely his honowre,
    That so gat fled for ferd;
  Bot oure king Edward come ful still,
When that he trowed no harm him till,
    And keped him in the berde.

IV.

LITHES, AND THE BATAIL I SAL BIGYN
OF INGLISCH-MEN AND NORMANDES IN THE SWYN.

MINOT with mowth had menid to make
Suth sawes and sad for sum mens sake;
The wordes of sir Edward makes me to wake,
Wald he salve us sone mi sorow suld slake;
War mi sorow slaked sune wald I sing:
When god will sir Edward sal us bute bring.
Sir Philip the Valas cast was in care,
And said sir Hugh Kyret to Flandres suld fare,
And have Normondes inogh to leve on his lare,
All Flandres to brin, and mak it all bare;
Bot, unkind coward, wo was him thare,
When he sailed in the Swin it sowed him sare;
Sare it tham smerted that ferd out of France,
Thare lered Inglis-men tham a new daunce.
The burjase of Bruge ne war noght to blame,
I pray Jhesu save tham fro sin and fro schame;
For thai war sone at the Sluse all by a name,
Whare many of the Normandes tok mekill grame.

When Bruges and Ipyre hereof herd tell,
Thai sent Edward to wit, that was in Arwell;
Than had he no liking langer to dwell,
He hasted him to the Swin, with sergantes snell,
To mete with the Normandes that fals war and fell,
That had ment, if thai might, al Flandres to quell.
King Edward unto sail was ful sune dight,
With erles and barons, and many kene knight;
Thai come byfor Blankebergh on saint Jons night,
That was to the Normondes a well sary sight;
Zit trumped thai and daunced, with torches ful bright
In the wilde waniand was thaire hertes light.
Opon the morn efter, if i suth say,
A mery man, sir Robard out of Morlay,
A half-eb in the Swin soght he the way,
Thare lered men the Normandes at bukler to play;
Helpid tham no prayer that thai might pray,
The wreches es wonnen, thaire wapin es oway.
The erle of Norhamton helpid at that nede,
Als wise man of wordes, and worthli in wede.
Sir Walter the Mawnay, god gif him mede!
Was bold of body in batayle to bede.
The duc of Lankaster was dight for to drive,
With mani mody man that thoght for to thrive;
Wele and stalworthly stint he that strive,
That few of the Normandes left thai olive;

Fone left thai olive, bot did tham to lepe,
Men may find by the flode a hundred on hepe.
Sir Wiliam of Klinton was eth for to knaw,
Mani stout bachilere broght he on raw;
It semid with thaire schoting als it war snaw,
The bost of the Normandes broght thai ful law;
Thaire bost was abated, and thaire mekil pride,
Fer might thai noght fle, bot thaire bud tham bide.
The gude erle of Glowceter, god mot him glade!
Broght many bold men with bowes ful brade;
To biker with the Normandes baldely thai bade,
And in middes the flode did tham to wade;
To wade war tho wretches casten in the brim,
The kaitefs come out of France at lere tham to swim.
I prays John Badding als one of the best;
Faire come he sayland out of the suth-west,
To prove of tha Normandes was he ful prest,
Till he had foghten his fill he had never rest.
John of Aile of the Sluys, with scheltron full schene,
Was comen into Cagent, cantly and kene;
Bot sone was his trumping turned to tene,
Of him had sir Edward his will, als I wene.
The schipmen of Ingland sailed ful swith,
That none of the Normandes fro tham might skrith:
Whoso kouth wele his craft thare might it kith;
Of al the gude that thai gat gaf thai no tithe.

Two hundreth and mo schippes in the sandes
Had oure Inglis-men won with thaire handes;
The Kogges of Ingland was broght out of bandes,
And also the Cristofir, that in the streme standes;
In that stound thai stode with stremers ful stil,
Till thai wist ful wele sir Edwardes will.
Sir Edward, oure gude king, wurthi in wall,
Faght wele on that flude, faire mot him fall!
Als it es custom of king to confort tham all,
So thanked he gudely the grete and the small;
He thanked tham gudely, god gif him mede!
Thus come our king in the Swin till that gude dede.
This was the bataile that fell in the Swin,
Where many Normandes made mekill din;
Wele war thai armed up to the chin,
Bot god and sir Edward gert thaire boste blin;
Thus blinned thaire boste, als we wele ken:
God assoyle thaire sawls! sais all Amen.

V.

HERKINS HOW KING EDWARD LAY WITH HIS MEN BIFOR TOURNAY.

TOWRENAY zow has tight
  To timber, trey and tene;
A bore with brems bright,
  Es broght opon zowre grene;
That es a semely sight,
  With schilterouns faire and schene:
Thi domes-day es dight,
  Bot thou be war, I wene.

When all yowre wele es went
  Zowre wo wakkins ful wide,
To sighing er ze sent
  With sorow on ilka syde;
Full rewfull es zowre rent,
  All redles may ze ride;
The harmes that ze have hent
  Now may ze hele and hide.

Hides and helis als hende,
  For ze er cast in care,
Ful few find ze zowre frende,

For all zowre frankis fare.
Sir Philip sall zow schende,
Whi leve ze at his lare?
No bowes now thar zow bende,
Of blis ze er all bare.

All bare er ze of blis,
No bost may be zowre bote,
All mirthes mun ze mis,
Oure men sall with zow mote,
Who sall zow clip and kys,
And fall zowre folk to fote;
A were es wroght, i wis,
Zowre walles with to wrote.

Wrote thai sal zowre dene,
Of dintes ze may zow dowt;
Zowre biginges sall men brene,
And breke zowre walles obout.
Ful redles may ze ren,
With all zowre rewful rout;
With care men sall zow ken
Edward zowre lord to lout.

To lout zowre lord in land
With list men sall zow lere;
Zowre harmes cumes at hand,

Als ze sall hastly here.
Now frendschip suld ze fande
Of sir Philip zowre fere,
To bring zow out of band,
Or ze be broght on bere.

On bere when ze er broght,
Than cumes Philip to late;
He hetes, and haldes zow noght,
With hert ze may him hate.
A bare now has him soght
Till Turnay the right gate,
That es ful wele bithoght
To stop Philip the strate,
Ful still:
Philip was fain he moght
Graunt sir Edward his will.

If ze will trow my tale,
A duke tuke leve that tide,
A Braban brwed that bale,
He bad no langer bide;
Giftes grete and smale
War sent him on his side;
Gold gert all that gale,
And made him rapely ride,
Till dede.

In hert he was unhale,
  He come thare moste for mede.

King Edward, frely fode,
  In Fraunce he will noght blin
To mak his famen wode,
  That er wonand tharein.
God, that rest on rode,
  For sake of Adams syn,
Strenkith him main and mode,
  His reght in France to win,
                And have!
God grante him graces gode,
  And fro all sins us save! Amen.

VI.

HOW EDWARD AT HOGGES UNTO LAND WAN AND RADE THURGH FRANCE OR EVER HE BLAN

MEN may rede in romance right
Of a grete clerk that Merlin hight;
Ful many bokes er of him wreten,
Als thir clerkes wele may witten;
And zit, in many prevé nokes,
May men find of Merlin bokes.
Merlin said thus, with his mowth,
Out of the north into the sowth
Suld cum a bare over the se,
That suld mak many man to fle;
And in the se, he said ful right,
Suld he schew ful mekill might;
And in France he suld bigin
To mak tham wrath that er tharein;
Untill the se his taile reche sale
All folk of France to mekill bale.
Thus have i mater for to make,
For a nobill prince sake:
Help me god, my wit es thin!
Now LAURENCE MINOT will bigin.

A BORE es broght on bankes bare,
  With ful batail bifor his brest,
For John of France will he noght spare,
  In Normondy to tak his rest,
With princes that er proper and prest:
  Alweldand god, of mightes maste,
He be his beld, for he mai best,
  Fader and sun and haly gaste!

Haly gaste, thou gif him grace,
  That he in gude time may bigin,
And send to him both might and space,
  His heritage wele for to win;
And sone assoyl him of his sin,
  Hende god, that heried hell!
For France now es he entred in,
  And thare he dightes him for to dwell.

He dwelled thare, the suth to tell,
  Opon the coste of Normondy;
At Hogges fand he famen fell,
  That war all ful of felony:
To him thai makked grete maistri,
  And proved to ger the bare abyde;
Thurgh might of god and mild Mari,
  The bare abated all thaire pride.

Mekill pride was thare in prese,
  Both on pencell and on plate,
When the bare rade, withouten rese,
  Unto Cane the graythest gate;
Thare fand he folk bifor the zate
  Thretty thowsand stif on stede:
Sir John of France come al to late,
  The bare has gert thaire sides blede.

He gert blede if thai war bolde,
  For thare was slayne and wounded sore
Thretty thowsand, trewly tolde,
  Of pitaile was thare mekill more;
Knightes war thar wele two score,
  That war new dubbed to that dance,
Helm and hevyd thai have forlore:
  Than misliked John of France.

More misliking was thare then,
  For fals treson alway thai wroght;
Bot, fro thai met with Inglis-men,
  All thaire bargan dere thai boght.
Inglis-men with site tham soght,
  And hastily quit tham thaire hire;
And, at the last, forgat thai noght,
  The toun of Cane thai sett on fire.

That fire ful many folk gan fere,
  When thai se brandes o ferrum flye;
This have thai wonen of the were,
  The fals folk of Normundy.
I sai zow lely how thai lye,
  Dongen doun all in a daunce;
Thaire frendes may ful faire forthi
  Pleyn tham untill John of France.

Franche-men put tham to pine,
  At Cressy, when thai brak the brig;
That saw Edward with both his ine,
  Than likid him no langer to lig.
Ilk Inglis-man no others rig,
  Over that water er thai went;
To batail er thai baldly big,
  With brade ax, and with bowes bent.

With bent bowes thai war ful bolde,
  For to fell of the Frankisch-men;
Thai gert tham lig with cares colde,
  Ful sari was sir Philip then.
He saw the toun o ferrum bren,
  And folk for ferd war fast fleand;
The teres he lete ful rathly ren
  Out of his eghen, i understand.

Then come Philip, ful redy dight,
  Toward the toun, with all his rowt,
With him come mani a kumly knight,
  And all umset the bare obout.
The bare made tham ful law to lout,
  And delt tham knokkes to thaire mede;
He gert them stumbill that war stout,
  Thare helpid nowther staf ne stede.

Stedes strong bilevid still
  Biside Cressy opon the grene;
Sir Philip wanted all his will,
  That was wele on his sembland sene.
With spere and schelde and helmis schene,
  The bare than durst thai noght habide:
The king of Beme was cant and kene,
  Bot thare he left both play and pride.

Pride in prese ne prais i noght,
  Omang thir princes prowd in pall;
Princes suld be wele bithoght,
  When kinges suld tham tyll counsail call
If he be rightwis king, thai sall
  Maintene him both night and day,
Or els to lat his frendschip fall
  On faire manere, and fare oway.

Oway es all thi wele, i wis,
  Franche-man, with all thi fare;
Of murning may thou never mys,
  For thou ert cumberd all in care:
With speche ne moght thou never spare
  To speke of Ingliss-men despite;
Now have thai made thi biging bare,
  Of all thi catell ertou quite.

Quite ertou, that wele we knaw,
  Of catell, and of drewris dere,
Tharfore lies thi hert ful law,
  That are was blith als brid on brere.
Inglis-men sall zit to-zere
  Knok thi palet or thou pas,
And mak the polled like a frere;
  And zit es Ingland als it was.

Was thou noght, Franceis, with thi wapin,
  Bitwixen Cressy and Abvyle,
Whare thi felaws lien and gapin,
  For all thaire treget and thaire gile?
Bischoppes war thare in that while,
  That songen all withouten stole:
Philip the Valas was a file,
  He fled, and durst noght tak his dole.

Men delid thare ful mani a dint
  Omang the gentill Geneuayse;
Ful many man thaire lives tint,
  For luf of Philip the Valays.
Unkind he was and uncurtayse,
  I prais nothing his purviance;
The best of France and of Artayse
  War al to-dongyn in that daunce.

That daunce with treson was bygun,
  To trais the bare with sum fals gyn:
The Franche-men said, All es wun,
  Now es it tyme that we bigin;
For here es welth inogh to win,
  To make us riche for evermore:
Bot, thurgh thiare armure thik and thin,
  Slaine thai war, and wounded sore.

Sore than sighed sir Philip,
  Now wist he never what him was best;
For he es cast doun with a trip,
  In John of France es all his trest;
For he was his frend faithfulest,
  In him was full his affiance:
Bot sir Edward wald never rest,
  Or thai war feld the best of France.

Of France was mekill wo, i wis,
  And in Paris the high palays:
Now had the bare, with mekill blis,
  Bigged him bifor Calais.
Heres now how the romance sais,
  How sir Edward, oure king with croune,
Held his sege, bi nightes and dais,
  With his men bifor Calays toune.

VII.

HOW EDWARD, ALS THE ROMANCE SAIS, HELD HIS SEGE BIFOR CALAIS.

CALAIS MEN, now may ze care,
  And murning mun ze have to mede;
Mirth on mold get ze no mare,
  Sir Edward sall ken zow zowre crede.
Whilum war ze wight in wede,
  To robbing rathly for to ren;
Men zow sone of zowre misdede,
  Zowre care es cumen, will ze it ken.

Kend it es how ze war kene
  Al Inglis-men with dole to dere;
Thaire gudes toke ze albidene,
  No man born wald ze forbere;
Ze spared noght, with swerd ne spere,
  To stik tham, and thaire gudes to stele;
With wapin and with ded of were,
  Thus have ze wonnen werldes wele.

Weleful men war ze, i wis,
  Bot fer on fold sall ze noght fare,
A bare sal now abate zowre blis,
  And wirk zow bale on bankes bare.
He sall zow hunt als hund dose hare,
  That in no hole sall ze zow hide;
For all zowre speche will he noght spare,
  Bot bigges him right by zowre side.

Biside zow here the bare bigins
  To big his boure in winter-tyde,
And all bityme takes he his ines,
  With semly sergantes him biside.
The word of him walkes ful wide,
  Jhesu, save him fro mischance!
In bataill dare he wele habide
  Sir Philip and sir John of France.

The Franche-men er fers and fell,
  And mase grete dray when thai er dight;
Of tham men herd slike tales tell,
  With Edward think thai for to fight,
Him for to hald out of his right,
  And do him treson with thaire tales;
That was thaire purpos, day and night,
  Bi counsail of the cardinales.

Cardinales, with hattes rede,
  War fro Calays wele thre myle,
Thai toke thaire counsail in that stede
  How thai might sir Edward bigile.
Thai lended thare bot litill while,
  Til Franche-men to grante thaire grace;
Sir Philip was funden a file,
  He fled, and faght noght in that place.

In that place the bare was blith,
  For all was funden that he had soght;
Philip the Valas fled ful swith,
  With the batail that he had broght:
For to have Calays had he thoght,
  All at his ledeing loud or still,
Bot all thaire wiles war for noght,
  Edward wan it at his will.

Lystens now, and ze may lere,
  Als men the suth may understand,
The knightes that in Calais were
  Come to sir Edward sare wepeand,
In kirtell one, and swerd in hand,
  And cried, Sir Edward, thine [we] are,
Do now, lord, bi law of land,
  Thi will with us for evermare.

The noble burgase and the best
  Come unto him to have thaire hire;
The comun puple war ful prest
  Rapes to bring obout thaire swire:
Thai said all, Sir Philip oure syre,
  And his sun, sir John of France,
Has left us ligand in the mire,
  And broght us til this doleful dance.

Oure horses, that war faire and fat,
  Er etin up ilkone bidene,
Have we nowther conig ne cat,
  That thai ne er etin, and hundes kene,
All er etin up ful clene,
  Es nowther levid biche ne whelp,
That es wele on oure sembland sene,
  And thai er fled that suld us help.

A knight that was of grete renowne,
  Sir John de Viene was his name,
He was wardaine of the toune,
  And had done Ingland mekill schame.
For all thaire boste thai er to blame,
  Ful stalworthly thare have thai strevyn,
A bare es cumen to mak tham tame,
  Kayes of the toun to him er gifen.

The kaies er zolden him of the zate,
  Let him now kepe tham if he kun;
To Calais cum thai all to late,
  Sir Philip and Sir John his sun:
Al war ful ferd that thare ware fun,
  Thaire leders may thai barely ban.
All on this wise was Calais won;
  God save tham that it so gat wan!

VIII.

SIR DAVID HAD OF HIS MEN GRETE LOSS, WITH SIR EDWARD, AT THE NEVIL-CROSS.

Sir David the Bruse,
  Was at distance,
When Edward the Baliolfe
  Rade with his lance;
The north end of Ingland
  Teched him to daunce,
When he was met on the more
  With mekill mischance.
Sir Philip the Valayse
  May him noght avance,
The flowres that faire war
  Er fallen in Fraunce;
The floures er now fallen
  That fers war and fell,
A bare with his bataille
  Has done tham to dwell.

Sir David the Bruse
  Said he sulde fonde
To ride thurgh all Ingland,

Wald he noght wonde;
At the Westminster-hall
Suld his stedes stonde,
Whils oure king Edward
War out of the londe:
But now has sir David
Missed of his merkes,
And Philip the Valays,
With all thaire grete clerkes.

Sir Philip the Valais,
Suth for to say,
Sent unto sir David,
And faire gan him pray,
At ride thurgh Ingland,
Thaire fomen to slay,
And said none es at home
To let hym the way;
None letes him the way,
To wende whore he will:
Bot with schiperd-staves
Fand he his fill.

Fro Philip the Valais
Was sir David sent,
All Ingland to win,

Fro Twede unto Trent;
He broght mani bere-bag,
With bow redy bent;
Thai robbed and thai reved,
And held that thai hent;
It was in the waniand
That thai furth went;
Fro covaitise of cataile
Tho schrewes war schent;
Schent war tho schrewes,
And ailed unsele,
For at the Nevil-cros
Nedes bud tham knele.

At the ersbisschop of Zork
Now will i bigyn,
For he may, with his right hand,
Assoyl us of syn;
Both Dorem and Carlele,
Thai wald nevir blin
The wirschip of Ingland
With wappen to win;
Mekil wirschip thai wan,
And wele have thai waken,
For syr David the Bruse
Was in that tyme taken.

When sir David the Bruse
  Satt on his stede,
He said of all Ingland
  Haved he no drede;
Bot hinde John of Coupland,
  A wight man in wede,
Talked to David,
  And kend him his crede:
Thare was sir David,
  So dughty in his dede,
The faire toure of Londen
  Haved he to mede.

Sone than was sir David
  Broght unto the toure,
And William the Dowglas,
  With men of honowre;
Full swith redy servis
  Fand thai thare a schowre,
For first thai drank of the swete,
  And senin of the sowre.
Than sir David the Bruse
  Makes his mone,
The faire coroun of Scotland
  Haves he forgone;
He luked furth into France,

Help had he none,
Of sir Philip the Valais,
Ne zit of sir John.

The pride of sir David
Bigon fast to slaken,
For he wakkind the were
That held him self waken;
For Philyp the Valaise
Had he brede baken,
And in the toure of Londen
His ines er taken:
To be both in a place
Thaire forward thai nomen,
Bot Philip fayled thare,
And David es cumen.

Sir David the Bruse
On this manere
Said unto sir Philip
Al thir sawes thus sere:
Philip the Valais,
Thou made me be here,
This es noght the forward
We made are to-zere;
Fals es thi forward,

And evyll mot thou fare,
For thou and sir John thi son
Haves kast me in care.

The Scottes, with thaire falshede,
Thus went thai obout
For to win Ingland
Whils Edward was out;
For Cuthbert of Dorem
Haved thai no dout,
Tharfore at Nevel-cros
Law gan thai lout;
Thare louted thai law,
And leved allane.
Thus was David the Bruse
Into the toure tane.

IX.

HOW KING EDWARD AND HIS MENZE MET WITH THE SPANIARDES IN THE SEE.

I WALD noght spare for to speke,
  Wist i to spede,
Of wight men with wapin,
  And worthly in wede,
That now er driven to dale,
  And ded all thaire dede,
Thai sail in the see-gronde
  Fissches to fede;
Fele fissches thai fede,
  For all thaire grete fare:
It was in the waniand
  That thai come thare.

Thai sailed furth in the Swin,
  In a somers tyde,
With trompes and taburns,
  And mekill other pride;
The word of tho weremen
  Walked full wide;

The gudes that thai robbed
  In holl gan thai hide;
In holl than thai hided
  Grete welthes, als i wene,
Of gold and of silver,
  Of skarlet and grene.

When thai sailed westward,
  Tho wight men in were,
Thaire hurdis thaire ankers
  Hanged thai on here;
Wight men of the west
  Neghed tham nerr,
And gert tham snaper in the snare,
  Might thai no ferr;
Fer might thai noght flit,
  Bot thare most thai fine,
And that thai bifore reved
  Than most thai tyne.

Boy with thi blac berd,
  I rede that thou blin,
And sone set the to schrive,
  With sorow of thi syn;
If thou were on Ingland,
  Noght saltou win,

Cum thou more on that coste
  Thi bale sall bigin:
Thare kindels thi care,
  Kene men sall the kepe,
And do the dye on a day,
  And domp in the depe.

Ze broght out of Bretayne
  Zowre custom with care,
Ze met with the marchandes
  And made tham ful bare;
It es gude reson and right
  That ze evill misfare,
When ze wald in Ingland
  Lere of a new lare:
New lare sall ze lere,
  Sir Edward to lout
For when ze stode in zowre strenkith
  Ze war all to stout.

X.

HOW GENTILL SIR EDWARD, WITH HIS GRETE ENGINES, WAN WITH HIS WIGHT MEN THE CASTELL OF GYNES.

War this winter oway,
  Wele wald i wene
That somer suld schew him
  In schawes ful schene;
Both the lely and the lipard
  Suld geder on a grene.
Mari, have minde of thi man,
  Thou whote wham i mene;
Lady, think what i mene,
  I mak thee my mone;
Thou wreke gude king Edward
  On wikked syr John.

Of Gynes ful gladly
  Now will i bigin,
We wote wele that woning

Was wikked for to win:
Crist, that swelt on the rode,
For sake of mans syn,
Hald tham in gude hele
That now er tharein!
Inglis-men er tharein,
The kastell to kepe;
And John of France es so wroth
For wo will he wepe.

Gentill John of Doncaster
Did a ful balde dede,
When he come toward Gines
To ken tham thaire crede;
He stirt unto the castell
Withowten any stede,
Of folk that he fand thare
Haved he no drede;
Dred in hert had he none
Of all he fand thare;
Faine war thai to fle,
For all thaire grete fare.

A letherin ledderr,
And a lang line,
A small bote was tharby,

That put tham fro pine;
The folk that thai fand thare
Was faine for to fyne;
Sone thaire diner was dight,
And thare wald thai dine;
Thare was thaire purpose
To dine and to dwell,
For treson of the Franche-men,
That fals war and fell.

Say now, sir John of France,
How saltou fare,
That both Calays and Gynes
Has kindeld thi care?
If thou be man of mekil might,
Lepe up on thi mare,
Take thi gate unto Gines,
And grete tham wele thare;
Thare gretes thi gestes,
And wendes with wo,
King Edward has wonen
The kastell tham fro.

Ze men of Saint-Omers,
Trus ze this tide,
And puttes out zowre paviliownes

With zowre mekill pride;
Sendes efter sir John of Fraunce
To stand by zowre syde,
A bore es boun zow to biker,
That wele dar habide;
Wel dar he habide
Bataile to bede,
And of zowre sir John of Fraunce
Haves he no drede.

God save sir Edward his right
In everilka nede,—
And he that will noght so,
Evil mot he spede;—
And len oure sir Edward
His life wele to lede,
That he may at his ending
Have hevin till his mede.
AMEN.

NOTES.

NOTES.

Page 1.

I. THE BATAILE OF HALIDON-HYLL.] Of this battle, fought on the 19th of July, 1333, the following particulars are extracted from MS. Harl. 4690.

"Att that tyme itte befell thatt king Edwarde of Windesore helde his parlement atte the Newe Castell uppe Tyne, for diverse deseses thatt weren in thatt countre; and thenne thider to him come sir Edwarde Bailolle king off Scottelond, and to him he dude homage and feute for the reme off Scottelonde. Thanne sir Edward of Bailoll towke his leve off king Edwarde, & went ayenne into Scottelonde, and was so grete a lorde, & so moche had his wille, that he touke no hede to hem that halpe him in his quarelle; werefore thei wente thennes fro him & dwelleden in her owne londe, and lyveden with her rentes in Scottelonde.

And itte was not longe after thatte the king of Scottelonde wente fro thennes he was at thatt tyme to the towne of Amande,* and ther he towke his sojourne, and thider comen to him a companie off knightes & mighty squieres, & yelde ham to him, and made him bel continaunce; and so thei baren ham to him thatte is truste was fulliche in ham: and as sone as the treitours perceiveden that he truste on hem, thei assembled l. orped men, and wolde have sleine him; butte by the grace of godde he brake a walle off his chaumber, and ascaped her tresoune, as godde wolde; butt alle his folke werenne ysleye: & so with grete paine he come to the towne off Cardoile,† and there abode, gretely discomforted: and this aventure befelle him in the vigille off the concepcioune off our lady. And thenne the king of Scottelond sended to the king of Englonde howgh treitouresly he was put to schame in litell wile by his owne lieges, to the whiche he trustedde gretely; and therefore he praiedde the king of Englonde, for the love of godde, thatte he wolde helpe him & meynteine ayenste his enemys. Thanne the king of Englonde, havyng despyte of that tresoune,

* Annan. † Carlile.

behete him gode socour, and sent to him that he schulde holde him in pees in the cete off Cardoille into the tyme thatte he had gadredde his power. And thenne king Edwarde of Englond made a counseill atte London, & lete assemble his folke in diverse schires of Englonde, and wente towarde the towne of Berwike uppon Twede; and thider come to him king Edwarde off Scottelonde, with his power to besege the towne; and there thei sette a faire towne & pavylounes, and lete dyche itte welle alle aboute hem, so thatte thei hadde no drede of the Scottes, and made meny assautes with gonnes and engines to the town, werewith thei destroieden meny menne, & threw a downe many houses to the pleine erthe: nottewithstonding, the Scottes defendedde welle the towne, so thatte the king might not come thereynne a grete wile. But the kingges tweyne besegede the towne so long that hem failed vitaile; and also thei were so forwacched thatte thei wiste notte watte to do; but by ther comen assente thei lette crye on the walles that thei mighten have pees off Englischemenne; and so thei praiden the kingges off her grace, and askeden treues for viii. daies, in thatte covenaunt, iff thei were notte resckewed by the parties of her towne towarde Scottelonde, & off the

Scottes withynne the same viii. daies, that thei schulde yelde hem, bothe towne and manne, to the kingges; and to holde that covenaunte thei proferred the ii. kingges xii. hostages oute off the towne. Wanne the hostages weren deliveredde to the kingges, thei of the towne senten to the Scottes to telle hem of her mischieff; and thenne the Scottes come thider prively, and passeden the water of Twede to the bought of goddes house; and sir William Dikkette, atte that tyme chieff stywarde of Scottelonde, with other Skottes, put hemself in perell off her lyffe atte thatt tyme; for thei passeden over the water ther that there stode a brigge som tyme, & the stones wer coveredde with the water, and many off her company weren adreinte; but the forseide sir William passed over, & many other off his companie, and come to the Englische schippes; and there in a barge of Hulle he slowe xvi. menne; and then thei entreden in to the towne of Berwike bi water. Werefore the towne helde hem for resckewed, and askede ayen her hostages: and the king off Englond sent hem to seine that thei hasked her hostages with wrong; for the Scottes entred the towne by the parties off the towne towarde Englonde, and the covenaunte was betwene ham that the towne schulde be res-

kewed towarde the parties of Scottelonde; and therefore the king commaunded hem to yelde uppe the towne, or he wolde slee the hostages: and the Skottes seiden that the towne was reskewedde welle ynough; and therto thei wolde holde ham. Than was the king righte wrothe; and anone he towke oon off the hostages, that hete sir Thomas of Seeton, the sone off sir Alisaunder Seton, wiche was wardeine of Berwikke; and this sir Thomas was parson off Dunbar; and he towke him firste of alle the hostages;* and then the king sente hem worde thatt every day he wolde take too off the hostages, and do to ham alle the dessesse that he mighte, if thei wolde not yelde him the town; and so he wolde teche hem to kepe her covenauntz. And whan thei off the towne herd these tidingges, thei were wonder sory, and senten ayenne to the king off Englonde, prayynge him to graunte hem other viii. daies off respite, with soche covenaunte, thatt iff ii.c. men of armes might passe by hem & entre in to the towne bi strengthe, to vitaille ham, thatte thanne the towne schulde be holde reskewedde; and iff xxi. or xxii. or mo weren sleye of the ii.c. before seide, that

* *Subintelligitur*—and hanged him. The execution took place in the father's sight.

the town schulde notte be holde reskewedde; and to this the king accordedde, & towke other xii. hostages. And in the mene wile, on seinte Margareteis eve, in the yere off grace a m^{l}. ccc. & 'xxxiii.' the Scottes come oute off Scottelonde fersly, in iiii. wingges, welle araied in armour, to mete with king Edwarde of Englond and king Edwarde off Scottelonde with a grete power, aboute even-song tyme. And at that sam tyme was a grete flode on the water off Twede, that no man might passe that water on horse ne on fote, & that water was betwene Englond and the ii. kingges; and then the Scottes aboden, hoping that by her strengthe the Englischemen schulden be slaine with fighting, or elles be adreinte; but, worschipped be god, the false Scottes faileden off her purpose. The erle of Dunbar, keper of the castell of Berwikke, halpe the Scottes with l. men off armes. Sir Alisaunder Seton, keper off the towne of Berwike, halpe the Scottes with an hundred men off armes: and the comens off the town with iiii.c. men of armes, x.m^{l}. & viii.c. fote menne. The som of erles & lordes amownteth lxv. The som off bachelers newe dubbed, a c. & xl. The som off men off armes, iii.m^{l}. vi.c. xl^{ti}. The som of comineres, iiii. score m^{l}. & ii.c. The

som total off alle the pepelle amowneth, iiii^{xx}m^{l}. xv.m. & v.c. & v.* And thes forseide lxv. grete lordes, with iiii. bateilles, as it is before descrivedde, come alle afote; and king Edwarde off Englonde and king Edwarde of Skottelonde had well pairaled her folke in iiii. bateilles on fote, also to fighte ayenste her enemys. And then the Englische mynstrelles beten her tabers, & blewen her trompes, and pipers pipeden loude, and made a grete schoute uppon the Skottes. And then hadde the Englische bachelers eche off hem ii. wingges off archers, which atte thatte meting mightly drewen her bowes, & made arowes flee as thik as motes on the sonne beme; and so theie smote the Skottes that thei fell to grounde by many m^{l}. and anone the Skottes beganne to flee fro the Englischemenne, to save ther lyves. Butt wanne the knaves & the Skottische pages, that weren behinde the Skottes to kepe her horses, seyen the discomfiture, thei prikeden her maisters horses awey to kepe hemselfe from perelle; and so thei towke no hede off her maisters. And then the Englischemen towken many off the Skottes horses, and prikeden after the Skottes, & slewe hem downerighte: and there men mighte

* These numbers appear to be inaccurate.

see the nowbell king Edwarde off Englonde, & his folke, hough mannefully thei chaseden the Skottes; weroff this romance was made.

THERE men mighte well see
Many a Skotte lightely flee,
And the Englische after priking,
With scharpe swerdes them striking,
And there her baners weren founde,
Alle displayedde on the grounde,
And layne starkly on blode,
As thei had fought on the flode.
Butt the Skottes, ille mote thei thee!
Thought the Englisch adreint schulde be,
For bicause thei mighte not flee,
Butte iff thei adreinte schulde bee.
Butte thei kepte hem manly on londe,
So thatte the Scottes might nott stonde,
And felde hem downe to grounde,
Many thowsandes in thatte stounde;
And the Englischemen pursuyed hem so
Tille the flode was alle agoo.
Alle thus the Skottes discomfite were
In littell tyme with grete feere.
For non other wise dide thei stryve
But as xx. schepe among wolfes fyve;

For v. off hem then were
Ayenst an Englischman there:
So there itte was welle semyng
That with multitude is no scomfiting;
But with god, fulle of mighte,
Wham he will helpe in trewe fighte.
So was this, bi goddes grace,
Discomfiture off Skottes in that place,
That men cleped Halidown-hille,
For there this bateill befelle,
Atte Berwike beside the towne
This was do with mery sowne,
With pipes, trompes, and nakers therto,
And loude clariounes thei blew also.
And there the Scottes leyen dede,
xxx.m^{l}. beyonde Twede,
& v. m^{l}. tolde thereto,
With vii.c.xii. and mo;
& of Englischemen but sevenne,
Worschipped be god in hevenne!
& that wer men on fote goyng,
By foly of her owne doyng.
On seinte Margeteys eve, as y yow tell,
Befille the victory of Halidoune-hille,
In the yere of god almightè
A m^{l}.iii.c. and 'iii.' and thritty.

Atte this discomfiture
The Englisch knightes towke her hure
Of the Skottes that weren dede,
Clothes and haberjounes for her mede;
And watteever thei might finde
On the Skottes thei lefte not behinde;
And the knaves, by her purchas,
Hadde there a mery solas,
For thei hadde, for her degree,
In alle her lyffe the better to be.
Alle thus the bateille towke ending;
But y canne not telle off the yen going
Off the too kingges, were thei become,
& wether thei wenten out or home:
But godde, thatte is heven king,
Sende us pees, and gode ending!"

The English historians are thought to have exaggerated the number and carnage of the enemy. They are compared by one old author to a swarm of locusts, and their loss, in killed, is generally stated at upward of thirty thousand. "He slewe of them," says Fabian, "as testifieth divers writers, seven earles, nine hundred knightes and banerettes, foure hundred esquiers, and upon thirty two thousand of the common people; and

of Englishmen were slaine but onely fiftene persons."—Froissart has a chapter upon the siege of Berwick, but takes not the least notice of this great and bloody battle.

Page 4.

L. 4. *Of wild Scottes, and alls of tame.*] These "wild Scottes" were the inhabitants of the highlands and western isles, of Galloway, and other parts; those, in short, who adhered to the ancient dress or manners, and Irish or Pictish language. The "tame" Scots, of course, were the lowlanders, who spoke English.

L. 10. *At Dondé now es done thaire daunce.*] The author's allusion is to the battle of Duplin, fought near a village of that name, in the neighbourhood of Perth, on the 12th of August, 1332, in which an army of forty thousand Scots, under the command of Donald earl of Mar, regent, who was slain in the conflict, were completely and disgracefully overthrown, with great ease, and prodigious slaughter, by Edward Baliol, and the disinherited English barons,—such, that is, as had lost their Scotish possessions,—with their followers, to the amount of about three thousand men. Duplin, however, is at a considerable dis-

tance from Dundee; but the engagement might have obtained a name from the latter place, by reason of Baliol's fleet being stationed there; he and his forces having been previously landed at Kinghorn. See Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland.*

L. 21. *Sir Jon the Comyn,* &c.] Sir John Comyn of Badenoch, a powerful Scotish baron, in the English interest, was slain by Robert Bruce, afterward king of Scotland, at a private conference between them, in the friery-church at Dumfries, on the 10th of February, 1305-6. The immediate motive of this act of violence has not transpired, though historians seem as confident in their surmises as if they had been actually present at the interview. Probably the most authentic account of this transaction is that given by Langtoft, or his translator, Robert Mannyng, both of whom were living at the time.

" Of William haf ze herd, how his endyng was,
Now of kyng Robert to telle zow his trespas.
Als Lenten tide com in, Cristen mans lauh,
He sent for Jon Comyn, the lord of Badenauh;
To Dounfres suld he come, unto the Minours kirke,
A spekyng ther thei nome, the Comyn wild not wirke,

Ne do after the sawe of Roberd the Brus.
Away he gan him drawe, his conseil to refus,
Roberd with a knyve the Cymyn ther he smote,
Thorgh whilk wounde his lyve he lost, wele i wote,
He zede to the hie autere, & stode & rested him thore,
Com Roberdes squiere, & wonded him wele more,
For he wild not consent, to reise no folie,
Ne do als he ment, to gynne to mak partie,
Ageyn kyng Edward, Scotland to dereyne,
With werre and batail hard, reve him his demeyne."

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II. [THE] BATAYL OF BANOCBURN was fought on the 24th of June, 1314, between the English and Scotish armies, headed by their respective sovereigns (Edward II. and Robert Bruce); in which the English were completely defeated. Bannockburn is in the shire of Stirling.

L. 7. *Saint-Johnes-toune.*] Perth, of which Baliol took possession the day after the battle of Duplin. Among all the English writers, historians or poets, perhaps the Scots have not a more inveterate enemy than Peter Langtoft, or his congenial translator, Robert Mannyng, who omits no opportunity of exercising his satirical vein

upon them. At p. 283 he thus earnestly prays for their destruction:

"Jhesu so meke, i the biseke, on croice that was wonded,
Grante me that bone, the Scottes sone alle be confonded!"

Having already, at p. 265, wished the whole country sunk to hell:

"Wales, wo the be, the fende the confound!
Scotland, whi ne mot i se 'the' sonken to helle ground?"

See also p. 279, and under the word RIVELING, in the glossary to the present volume.

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III. HOW EDWARD THE KING COME IN BRABAND,
AND TOKE HOMAGE OF ALL THE LAND.]

"The kyng of Englande," according to Froissart, whose relation is here transcribed, "made great purveyances; and whan the wynter was

passed he toke the see, well acompanyed with dukes, erles, and barownes, and dyvers other knyghtes; and aryved at the towne of Andewarpe, as than pertayninge to the duke of Brabant. Thyther came people from all partes to se hym, and the great estate that he kept. Than he sent to his cosyn the duke of Brabant, and to the duke of Guerles; to the marques of Jullers, to the lorde Johan of Heynalt, and to all such as he trusted to have any conforte of; sayng howe he wolde gladly speke with theym: they came all to Andewarpe bytwene Whytsontyde and the feest of saynte Johan. And whan the kyng had well feasted them, he desyred to knowe their myndes, whanne they wolde begynne that they had promysed; requirynge them to dyspatche the mater brevely; for that intente, he sayd, he was come thyder, and had all his men redy: and howe it shulde be a great damage to hym to deferre the mater long. These lordes had longe counsell among them, and fynally they sayd: Syr, our commynge hyther as nowe was more to se you than for any thynge els: we be nat as nowe purveyed to gyve you a ful answere. By your lycence, we shall retourne to our people, and cume agayne to you at your pleasure; and thanne gyve

you so playne an answere that the mater shall nat rest in us. Than they toke day to come agayn a thre wekes after the feest of saynt John. So thus these lordes departed, and the kynge taryed in the abbay of saynt Brunarde, and some of the Englysshe lordes taryed styll at Andewarpe, to kepe the kynge company, and some of the other rode about the countrey in great dyspence. The day came that the kynge of Englande loked to have an answere of these lordes; and they excused them, and sayd howe they were redy and their men, so that the duke of Brabant wolde be redy for his part; sayeng that he was nere than they. Than the kyng dyd so muche that he spake agayne with the duke, and shewed him the answere of the other lordes, desyring him by amyte and lynage that no faut were founde in him; sayeng how he parceyved well that he was but cold in the mater; and that, without he wer quicker, and dyd otherwise, he douted he shulde lese therby the ayde of all the other lordes of Almayne through his defaulte. Than the duke sayd, he wolde take counsayle in the matter; and whan he had longe debated the mater, he sayd he shulde be as redy as any other; but firste, he sayd, he wolde speke agayne with the other lordes; and he

dyde sende for them, desyring them to come to hym wher as they pleased best. Than the day was apointed about the myddes of August, & this counsell to be at Hale, bycause of the yong erle of Haynalt, who shulde also be ther, and with hym sir Johan of Heinalt his uncle. Whann these lordes were all come to this parlyament at Hale, they had longe counsayle togyder; finally they sayd to the kyng of Englande: Syr, we se no cause why we shulde make defyance to the Frenche kyng, all thynges consydred, without ye can gette thagrement of themperour; and that he wolde commaunde us to do so in his name. The emperour may well thus do, for of long tyme past there was a covenant sworne and sealed that no kyng of Fraunce ought to take any thyng parteyning to thempyre, and this kynge Phylippe hath taken the castell of Crevecure in Cambreysis, and the castell of Alves in Pailleull, and the cytie of Cambray: wherfore themperour hath good cause to defye hym by us; therfore, sir, if ye can get his acord, our honour shal be the more: and the kyng sayd he wolde folowe their counsayle. Then it was ordayned that the marques of Jullers shulde go to themperour, and certayne knyghtes and clarkes of the kynges, and some of

the counsell of the duke of Gwerles. But the duke of Brabant woulde send none fro hym; but he lende the castell of Lovayne to the kynge of Englande to lye in. And the marques and his company founde the emperour at Florebetche, and shewed hym the cause of their commyng. And the lady Margarete of Heynault dydde all her payne to further forthe the mater, whom sir Lewes of Bavyer than emperour had wedded. And themperour gave commyssion to four knyghtes and to two doctours of this counsell to make kyng Edwarde of Englande his vycarre generall throughout al the empyre; and therof these sayd lordes hadde instrumentes publyke, confyrmed and sealed suffyciently by the emperour. And than about the feest of all sayntes the marques of Jullers and his company sent worde to the kyng how they had sped. And the kyng sent to hym that he shulde be with hym about the feest of saynt Martyne; and also he sent to the duke of Brabant to knowe his mynde, wher he wolde the parlyament shuld be holde; and he answered at Arques, in the county of Loz, nere to his countrey. And than the kyng sent to all other of his alyes, that they shulde be there; and so the hal of the towne was apparelled and hanged, as though it

hat ben the kynges chamber. And there the kyng satte crowned with geolde v. fote hygher than any other: and there openly was rede the letters of themperour, by the which the kyng was made vycare generall and lieftenaunt for the emperour, and had power gyven hym to make lawes, and to mynistre justyce to every person in themperours name, and to make money of golde and sylver. The emperour also there commaunded by his letters, that all persons of his empyre, and all other his subgiettes shulde obey to the kyng of England his vycare as to hymselfe, and to do hym homage. And whan all this was done the lordes departed, and toke day that they shulde all appere before Cambray thre wekes after the feest of saynt Johan, the whiche towne was become Frenche: thus they all departed, and every man went to his owne." Froissart's *Chronicle*, translated by Sir John Bourchier Lord Berners, 1525, fol. vol. i. chap. 32, 34.

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L. 15. *And thare he made his moné playne.*] "Kynge Edwarde, as vycare of thempyre, went then to Lovayne to the quene, who was newly come theyder out of England, with great noble-

nesse, and well accompanyed with ladyes and domosels of Englande. So there the kynge and the quene kepte their house ryght honorably all that wynter; and causeed money, golde and sylver, to be made at Andewarpe, great plentie." Froissart's *Chronicle.*

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L. 3. *Schip-men sone war efter sent,* &c.] "The Frenche kynge on his part had set Genowayes, Normans, Bretons, Pycardes, and Spanyardes, to be redy on the see to entre into Englande assone as the warre were opened." Froissart's *Chronicle,* ut supra, vol. i. chap. 35.

L. 13. *At Hamton,* &c.] "As sone as sir Hewe Quyriell, [r. Quyriett] sir Peter Babuchet, and Barbe Noyre, who lay and kept the streightes 'bytwene' England and Fraunce with a great navy, knewe that the warre was opyn, they came on a sonday in the forenoone to the havyn of Hampton, whyle the people were at masse; and the Normayns, Pycardes, and Spanyerdes entred into the towne, and robbed and pylled the towne, and slewe dyvers, and defowled maydens, and enforced wyves, and charged their vessels with that pyllage; and so entred agayne into their shyppes:

and whan the tyde came they disancred, and sayled to Normandy, and came to Depe; and there departed and devyded their boty and pyllages." Froissart, ut supra, vol. i. chap. 37.

L. 25. *The galay-men*, &c.] "Kyng Philyppe," says Froissart, "greatly fortyfyed his navy that he hadde on the see, wherof syr [Hewe] Kiry [ett], [sir Peter] Bahuchet, and Barbe Noyre were captaines: and they had under them a great retinue of Genowaies, Normayns, Bretons, and Picardes. They dyd that wynter great domage to the realme of England. Somtyme they came to Dover, Sandwyche, Winchelse, Hastinges, and Rye: and did moche sorowe to thenglisshemen, for the were a great nombre, as a xl. m. men. Ther was none that coude yssue out of England, but they were robbed, taken or slayne: so they wan great pyllage, and specyally they wan a great shype called Christofer, laden with wolles, as she was goyng into Flaunders; the whiche shype had coste the kyng of England much money; and all they that were taken within the shippe were sleine and drowned: of the which conquest the Frenchemen wer right joyouse." *Chronicle*, chap. 44.

The account given of this affair by Fabian is more particular than Froissart's.

"In the xiii. yeare [1338], kynge Edward with quene Philip hys wyfe, for moore assured stablishment of amitie, to be had betwene him and the Hollanders, Sealanders, and Brabanders, passed the sea in the beginninge of the moneth of 'Julye,' & sayled with a goodly companye into the countrey of Brabant, the queene then being great with childe, where of the earle of Brabant he was honorably receaved, &c. In this passetyme, the Frenche king had sent dyvers shyppes unto the sea with men of warre, for to take the Englyshe merchauntes and other that came in theyr course. And so befell that they encountred with two great shippes of England, called the Edwarde and the Christopher, the whiche (as testifieth the French *Chronicle*,) were freyt with great riches, and also well manned. Anone, as either was ware of other, gonnes, and shot of longe bowes, and arblasters, were not spared on nother side, so that betwene them was a cruell fyght, but not egall: for of the French men wer xiii. sailes great and smal, & of the Englishmen but five, that is to meane, these two foresaid great ships, two barckes and a carvell, the which thre smal ships escaped by their deliver sayling, and the two abode and fought beyonde ix. houres, so much that there were slaine upon bothe

parties above sixe hundred men; but, in the end, the said two ships wer taken, and brought into the French kinges streames, & many of the Englyshmen that were wounded cast into the sea." Fabian's *Chronicle*, p. 206.

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L. 1: *Furth he ferd into France*, &c.] "Assone as kyng Edward had passed the river of Lescaute,* and was entred into the realme of Fraunce, he went and lodged in thabbey of mount saint Martyn, and there taryed two dayes, and his people abode in the countrey, & the duke of Brabant was lodged in thabbey of Vancelliz. And the next day on the mornyng the kyng departed from Mount Saynt Martyn; and so than they entred into Vermandoys, and toke that day their lodgyng be tymes on the mount Saynt Quintyne in good order of batayle. Than the lordes toke counsell what way they shulde drawe, and, by thadvyce of the duke of Brabant, they toke the way to Thyerasse, for that way their provisyon came dayly to them. And they determyned that if kyng Phylyppe dyd followe them, as they supposed he wolde

* The Scheld.

do, that than they wolde abyde hym in the plane felde, and gyve hym batayle. Thus they went forthe in thre great batayls: the marshalles and the Almaygnes had the first, the kynge of Englande in the myddle warde, & the duke of Brabant in the rerewarde. Thus they rodde forthe, brennynge and pyllynge the countrey a thre or foure leages a day, and ever toke their logynge betymes. And a company of Englysshmen and Almaygnes passed the ryver of Somme, by the abbey of Vermans, and wasted the countrey al about. An other company, wherof sir Johan of Heynault, the lord Faulquemont, and sir Arnold of Bacquehen were chefe, rode to Origny Saint Benoyste, a good towne; but it was but easely closed: incontynent it was taken by assaut, and robbed, and an abbey of ladyes vyolated, and the towne brent. Than they departed, and rode towarde Guys and Rybemont, and the kynge of Englande lodged at Vehories, and ther taryed a day, and his men ranne abrode, and dystroyed the countrey. Than the kynge toke the way to the Flammengerie, to come to Lesche in Thyerasse, and the marshals and the bysshoppe of Lincolne with a fyve hundered speres passed the ryver of Trysague, and entred into Laonnoys, towarde

the lande of the lorde of Coucey, and brent Saynt Gouven, and the towne of Marle. And on a nyght lodgedde in the valley besyde Laon, and the nexte day they drewe agayne to their hoost; for they knewe by some of their prisoners, that the Frenche kyng was come to Saynt Quyntines with a c. thousand men, and there to passe the ryver of Somme. So these lordes in their returnynge brent a good towne called Crecy, and dyverse other townes and hamelettes therabout. The kynge of Englande departed fro Sarnaques and went to Muttrell; and ther loged a nyght; and the next day he went to the Flamengery, and made all his men to loge nere about hym, wherof he had mo than xl. thousande; and there he was counselled to abyde kyng Philyp, and to fyght with hym. The French kyng departed fro Saynt Quyntines; and dayly men came to him fro all partes, and so came to Vyronfosse. There the kyng taryed, & sayd howe he wold not go thens tyll he had fought with the kynge of Englande, and with his alyes, seyng they were within two leages toguyther. Thus these two kynges were lodged bytwene Vyronfosse and Flamengery, in the playne feldes, without any advauntage. I thynke ther was never sen before so goodly an assemble of noble

men togyder as was there. Whanne the kynge of England, beyng in the chapell of Thyerasse, knewe how that king Philyppe was within two leages, than he called the lordes of his host togyder, and demaunded of them what he shuld do, his honour saved, for he sayd that his entencyon was to gyve batayle. Than the lordes behelde eche other, and they desyredde the duke of Brabant to shewe first his entent. The duke sayd that he was of the accorde that they shuld gyve batayle, for otherwyse, he sayd, they coude nat depart, savyng their honours; wherfore he counsayled that they shulde sende herauldes to the Frenche kyng, to demaunde a day of batayle. Than an heraulde of the duke of Guerles, who coude well the langage of Frenche, was enformed what he shulde say, and so he rode tyll he came in to the Frenche hoost. And 'than' he drewe hym to kyng Philyppe and to his counsayle; and sayde, Sir, the kynge of Englande is in the felde, and desyreth to have batell, power agaynst power: the whiche thyng kyng Philyppe graunted, and toke the day, the Friday next after; and as than it was Wednesday. And so the haraude retourned, well rewarded with good furred gownes gyven hym by the French kyng and other lordes, bycause of the tidynges that he

brought. So thus the journey was agreed, & knowledge was made therof to all the lordes of bothe the hoostes, and so every man made hym redy to the mater. Whan the Friday came in the mornyng, both hoostes aparelled themselfe redy, and every lorde harde masse among their owne companyes, and dyvers wer shriven. First we woll speke of thorder of thenglysshmen, who drewe them forwarde into the felde, and made iii. batels a fote, and dyd put al their horses and bagages into a lytell wood behynde them, and fortefyed it. The first batel ledde the duke of Guerles, the marques of Nusse, the marquyes of Blanquebure, sir Johan of Heynault, therle of Mons, therle of Savynes, the lorde of Faulquemont, sir Guyllam du Fort, sir Arnolde of Baquehen, and the Almayns; and amonge them was xxii. banners, and lx. penons in the hole, and viii.m. men. The seconde batayle had the duke of Brabant, and the lordes and knyghtes of his countrey. The duke of Brabant had xxiiii. baners, and lxxx. penons, and in al vii.m. men. The iii. batayle & the grettest had the kyng of Englande, and with hym his cosyn therle of Derby,* the bys-

* Afterward duke of Lancaster.

shoppe of Lynecolne, the bysshoppe of Durame, therle of Salisbury, the erle of Northampton and of Glocetter, therle of Suffolke, sir Robert Dartoyse, as than called erle of Rychmont, the lorde Raynolde Cobham, the lorde Persy, the lorde Roose, the lord Montbray, sir Lewes and sir Johan Beauchampe, the lord Dalawarre, the lorde of Laucome, the lorde Basset, the lorde Fitzwater, sir Water Manny, sir Hewe Hastynges, sir Johan Lyle; and dyvers other that I can nat name: among other was sir Johan Chandos, of whom moche honour is spoken in this boke. The kyng had with hym xxviii. baners, and lxxxx. penons, and in his batale a vi.m. men of armes, and vi.m. archers; and he had set an other batell as in a wyng, wheroff therle of Warwyke, therle of Penbroke, the lorde Barkly, the lorde Multon, and dyverse other were as cheyfe, and they were on horsbacke. Thus, whan every lord was under his banner, as it was commaunded by the marshals, the kyng of England mounted on a palfray, accompanyed all onely with sir Robert Dartoyse, sir Raynolde Cobham, and sir Water of Manny, and rode along before all his batels, and right swetely desyred all his lordes and other, that they wolde that day ayde to defende his honoure; and

they all promysed hym so to do. Than he returned to his own batell, and set every thing in good order, and commaunded that non shuld go before the marshals baners.

" Nowe let us speke of the lordes of Fraunce what they dyd. They were xi. score baners, iiii. kynges, v. dukes, xxvi. erles, and mo than iiii.m. knyghtes; and of the commons of Fraunce mo than lx.m. The kynges that were there with kyng Philyppe of Valoys, was the kyng 'of Behayne,' the kyng of Naverre, and kyng Davyd of Scotland; the duke of Normandy, the duke of Bretayne, the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Lorrayne, and the duke of Athenes. Of erles: therle of Alanson, 'brother' to the kyng, the erle of Flaunders, therle of Heynalt, the erle of Bloys, therle of Bare, therle of Forestes, therle of Foyz, therle of Armynack, the erle Dophym of Auvergne, therle of Vandosme, therle of Harrecourt, therle of Saynt Pol, therle of Guynes, therle of Bowlongne, therle of Roussy, therle of Dampmartyn, therle of Valentynois, therle of Aucer, therle of Saucerre, therle of Genue, the erle of Dreux and of Gascongue, and of Languedoc. So many erles and vycuntes that it were longe to reherse. It was a great beauty to beholde the baners and

standredes, wavyng in the wynde; and horses barded; and knyghtes and squyers richely armed. The Frenchemen ordayned thre great batayls; in eche of them fyftene thousand men of armes, [and] xx.m. men a fote.

"It myght well be marveyledde, howe so goodly a sight of men of warre, so nere togyder, shulde depart without batayle. But the Frenchmen were nat al of one accorde, they were of dyvers opynyons. Some sayde, it were a great shame and they fought nat, seyng their ennemys so nere them, in their owne countre, raynged in the felde; and also had promysed to fyght with them. And some other sayd, it shulde be a great folly to fyght, for it was harde to knowe every mannes mynde, and jeopardy of treason. For, they sayd, if fortune were contrary to their kyng, as to lese the felde, he than shuld put all his hole realme in a jeopardy to be lost; and though he dyd dysconfet his ennemes, yet for all that he shuld be never the nerer of the realme of Englande, nor of such landes parteynyng to any of those lordes that be with hym alyed. Thus, in strivyng of dyvers opynions, the day past tyll it was past noone; and then sodenly there started an hare among the Frenchmen; and such as sawe her cryed and made gret

brunt, wherby suche as were behynde thought they before had ben fightynge, and so put on their helmes, and toke their speres in their handes: and so there were made dyvers newe knyghtes; and specially therle of Heynalt made xiiii. who were ever after called knyghtes of the hare. Thus that batell stode styll all that Friday. And besyde this stryfe bytwene the counsellours of France, there was brought in letters to the hoost, of recommendacion to the Frenche kyng, and to his counsell, fro kyng Robert of Cicyle;* the which kyng, as it was sayd, was a great astronomyre, and full of great science. He had oftentymes sought his bokes on the state of the kynges of England and France; and he founde by his astrology, and by thenfluens of the hevens, that if the French kyng ever fought with king Edwarde of England, he shuld be disconfited: wherfore he, lyke a king of gret wysdome, and as he that douted the peryll of the Frenche kyng his cosyn, sent oftentymes letters to king Philyppe, and to his counsayle, that in no wyse he shulde make any batayle agaynst

* Concerning this sage and scientific monarch, and of the pride which occasioned his downfall, there is an old metrical romance, or legend, extant in MS.

Warton, very strangely, supposes Robert Cecyll the title, he says, of an old English morality; a corruption of *Robert the Devil!*

thenglysshmen, where as kyng Edwarde was personally present. So that, what for dout, and for such writyng fro the kyng of Cecyle, dyvers of the great lordes of Fraunce were sore abasshed; and also kynge Philyppe was enfourmed therof. Howebeit yet he had great wyll to gyve batayle, but he was so counselled to the contrary, that the day passed without batell, and every man withdrue to their lodgynges. And whan the erle of Heynalt sawe that they shuld nat fight, he departed with his hole company, and went backe the same night to Quesnoy. And the kynge of Englande, the duke of Brabant, and all the other lordes, returned and trussed all their bagagis, and went the same night to Davesnes in Heynalt. And the next day they toke leve eche of other; and the Almayns and Brabances departed, and the kynge went into Brabant with the duke his cosyn. The same Friday that the batell shulde have ben, the French kynge, when he came to his lodgyng, he was sore dyspleased, bycause he departed without batayle. But thay of his counsayle sayde, howe right nobly he had borne hymselfe, for he had valyantly pursued his enemies, and had done so muche that he had put them out of his realme; and how that the kyng of England shulde make

many such vyages or he conquered the realme of Fraunce. The next day kyng Philyppe gave lycence to all maner of men to depart, and he thanked right courtesly the gret lordes of their ayde and socour. Thus ended this great journey; and every man went to theyr owne." Froissart's *Chronicle*, vol. i. chap. 39, &c. This was in 1339.

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V. LITHES, AND THE BATAIL I SAL BIGYN OF INGLISCH-MEN AND NORMANDES IN THE SWYN.]

"Nowe lette us speke of the kynge of Englande, who was on the see to the intent to arryve in Flaunders, and so into Heynalt to make warre agaynst the Frenchmen. This was on Mydsomer even, in the yere of our lord m.ccc.xl. all thenglysse flete was departed out of the ryver of Tames, and toke the way to Sluse. And the same tyme bytwene Blanqueberque and Sluse on the see was sir Hewe 'Kyryett,' sir Peter Bahuchet, and Barbnoyr: and mo than six score great vessels besyde other, and they were of Normayns, Bydaulx, Genowes, and Pycardes; about the nombre of xl.m. There they were layd by the Frenche kyng, to de-

fende the kyng of England passage. The kynge of England and his came saylyng tyll he came before Sluse; and whan he saw so great a nombre of shippes that their mastes seemed to be lyke a great wood, he demaunded of the mayster of his ship what peple he thought they were; he answered and sayde, Sir, I thynke they be Normayns layd here by the Frenche kynge; & hath done gret dyspleasure in Englande, brent your towne of Hamton, and taken your great shyppe the Chrystofer. A, quod the kinge, I have longe desyred to fyght with the Frenchemen, and nowe shall I fyght with some of them, by the grace of god and saynt George, for truly they have done me so many dysplesurs that I shall be revenged & I may. Than the king set all his shyppes in order, the grettest before, well furnisshed with archers, & ever bytwene two shyppes of archers he had one shypp with men of armes, and than he made an other batell to ly a lofe with archers to confort ever them that were moost wery, yf nede were. And there were a great nombre of countesses, ladyes, knyghtes wyves, & other damosels that were goyng to se the quene at Gaunt: these ladyes the kyng caused to be well kept with thre hundred men of armes, and v.c. archers.

"Whan the kyng and his marshals had ordered his batayls, he drewe up the seales and cam with a greater wynde, to have the vauntage of the sonne. And so at last they tourned a lytell to get the wynde at wyll: and whan the Normayns sawe them recule backe, they had marvell why they dyde so. And some sayd, They thinke them selfe nat mete to medyll with us; wherfore they woll go backe. They sawe well howe the kyng of England was there personally, by reason of his baners. Than they dyd appareyle their flet in order, for they wer sage and good men of ware on the see; and dyd set the Christofer, the which they had won the yer before, to be formast with many trumpettes and instrumentes: and so set on their ennemies. There began a sore batell on bothe partes: archers and crosbowes began to shote, and men of armes aproched and foughte hande to hande; and the better to come togyder, they had great hokes, & grapers of yron to cast out of one shyppe into another, and so tyed them fast togyder. There were many dędes of armes done, takyng and rescuyng agayne. And at last the great Christopher was first won by thenglysshmen, and all that were within it taken or slayne. Than there was great noyse and cry, and theng-

lysshmen aproched and fortifyed the Christofer with archers, and made hym to pass on byfore to fyght with the Genoweys. This batayle was right fierse and terryble; for the batayls on the see ar more dangerous and fierser than the batayls by lande: for on the see ther is no reculyng nor fleyng, there is no remidy but to fight, and to abyde fortune, and every man to shewe his prowes. Of a trouthe sir Hewe 'Kyriett,' and sir [Peter] Bahuchet, and Barbe-noyer, were ryght good and expert men of warre. This batayle endured fro the mornyng tyll it was noone, & thenglysshmen endured moche payne, for their ennemies were foure agaynst one, and all good men on the see. Ther the kyng of England was a noble knight of his owne handes, he was in the flouer of his yough. In like wyse so was the erle of Derby, Pembroke, Herforde, Huntyngdon, Northampton, and Glocetter, sir Raynolde Cobham, sir Rycharde Stafforde, the lorde Percy, sir Water of Manny, sir Henry of Flaunders, sir Johan Beauchamp, the lorde Felton, the lorde Brasseton, sir [John] Chandos, the lorde Delawarre, the lorde of Multon, sir Robert Dartoys, called erle of Rychmont, and dyverse other lordes and knyghtes, who bare themselfe so valyantly, with some socours that they

had of Bruges, and of the countrey thereabout, that they obtayned the vyctorie. So that the Frenchmen, Normayns, and other were dysconfetted, slayne, and drowned: there was nat one that scaped, but all were slayne. Whane this vyctorie was atchyved, the kyng all that nyght abode in his shyppe before Sluse, with great noyse of trumpettes and other instrumentes. Thyder came to se the kynge dyvers of Flaunders, suche as had herde of the kynges commyng, &c." Froissart, vol. i. chap. 50.

"The French king being advertised that the king of England meant shortlie to returne into Flanders with a great power in purpose to invade the realme of France on that side, assembled a navie of foure hundred shippes, under the leading of three expert capteins of the warres by sea, as sir Hugh Kiriell [r. Kiriett], sir Peter Bahuchet, and a Geneweis named Barbe-noir, appointing them to the coasts of Flanders to defend the king of England from landing there, if by any meanes they might. These three capteins or admerals came and laie with their ships in the haven of Sluise, for that it was supposed the king of England would arrive there, as his meaning was indeed. Whereupon, when his men, ships, and

provisions were once readie, in the moneth of June [1340], he tooke the sea with two hundred saile, and directing his course towards Flanders, there came unto him the lord Robert Morley, with the north navie of England, so that then he had in all about three hundred saile, or (as other saie) two hundred and three score.

"The French navie laie betwixt Sluise and Blancbergh, so that when the king of England approched, either part descried other, & therewith prepared them to batell. The king of England staied till the sunne, which at the first was in his face, come somewhat westward, and so had it upon his backe, that it should not hinder the sight of his people, and so therewith did set upon his enimies with great manhood, who likewise verie stoutly incountered him, by reason whereof insued a sore and deadlie fight betwixt them. The navies on both sides were divided into three battels. On the English part, the earles of Glocester, Northampton, and Huntington, who was admerall of the fleet that belonged to the cinque ports, and the lorde Robert Morley, admerall of the northerne navie, had the guiding of the fore ward, bearing themselves right valiantlie; so that at length the Englishmen having the advantage,

not onlie of the sunne, but also of the wind and tide, so fortunatlie, that the French fleet was driven into the streights of the haven, in such wise that neither the souldiers nor mariners could helpe themselves, insomach that both heaven, sea, and wind, seemed all to have conspired against the Frenchmen. And herewith manie ships of Flanders joining themselves with the English fleet, in the end the Frenchmen were vanquished, slaine and taken, their ships being also either taken, bowged, or broken.

"When night was come upon them, there were thirtie French ships that yet had not entred the battell, the which sought by covert of the night to have stolne awaie; and one of them being a mightie great vessell, called the James of Deepe, would have taken awaie a ship of Sandwich that belonged to the prior of Canterburie: but by the helpe of the erle of Huntington, after they had fought all the night till the next morning, the Englishmen at length prevailed; and taking that great huge ship of Deepe, found in hir above foure hundred dead bodies. To conclude, verie few of the French ships escaped, except some of their small vessels, and certeine gallies with their admerall Barbe-noir, who in the beginning

of the battell got foorth of the haven, advising the other capteins to doo the like, thereby to avoide the danger which they wilfullie imbraced. There died in this battell, fought (as some write) on midsummer-daie, in the yere aforesaid, of Frenchmen to the number of 30000, of Englishmen about 4000, or (as other have that lived in those daies) not past 400, amongst whom there were foure knights of great nobilitie, as sir Thomas Monhermere, sir Thomas Latimer, sir John Boteler, and sir Thomas Poinings.

"It said also, that the kinge himselfe was hurt in the thigh. The two English ships that had beene taken the yeere before, the Edward and the Christopher, were recovered at this time, amongst other of the French ships that were taken there. Sir Peter Bahuchet was hanged upon a crosse pole fastened to a mast of one of the ships.* Through the wilfulnesse of this man, the Frenchmen received this losse (as the French chronicles report) bicause he kept the navie so long within the haven, till they were so inclosed by the Englishmen, that a great number of the Frenchmen could

* Fabian says that both "syr Nicholas Buchett," as he calls him, "and syr Hugh Querett, in despite of the Frenchemen, were hanged upon the sayles of the shippes, which they wer taken in."

never come to strike stroke, nor to use the shot of their artillerie, but to the hurt of their fellows. Howsoever it was, the Englishmen got a famous victorie, to the great comfort of themselves, and discomfort of their adversaries. The king of England, after he had thus vanquished his enimies, remained on the sea by the space of three daies, and then comming on land, went to Gant, where he was received of the queene with great joy and gladnesse. Holinshed's *Chronicle*, 1587, vol. ii. p. 358. See also Fabian, 1559, p. 211.

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L. 12. *The Swin.*] A river or passage between the isle of Cadsand and the S. W. continent of Flanders.

L. 17. *The Sluse.*] Or the Sluys, p. 20, a sea-port, belonging, at present, to the Dutch, opposite the isle of Cadsand, in what was then the county of Flanders.

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L. 2. *Arwell.*] Orwell-haven, in Suffolk.

L. 9. *Blankebergh.*] Blankenberg, a sea-port, in the county of Flanders, between Ostend and the Sluys.

L. 14. —*sir Robard out of Morlay.*] Robert lord Morley, admiral of the north navy of England; died in France, 1361.

L. 19. *The erle of Norhamton.*] William de Bohun, created earl of Northampton in 1339; died in 1359.

L. 21. *Sir Walter the Mawnay.*] Sir Walter Manny, a native of Hainault, and the hero of a romance in real life. See Froissart's *Chronicle*, throughout. In performance of a promise he had made " before ladyes and demoselles er he came out of Englande," he " made the first journey into France," burnt a town, took a castle, and returned as if he had been taking a morning ride. Another time, in the course of an after-dinner conversation, in a besieged town, he proposes to issue out and break down a great engine; which is instantly done, with equal gallantry and judgment. King Edward and the prince of Wales fought under his banner at the battle of Calais. He died, full of glory and honour, in 1371, and was buried in his own foundation of the Charterhouse.

L. 23. *The duc of Lankaster.*] Henry, surnamed *de Grismond*, otherwise *au tort col*, or wry neck, then earl of Derby, who, succeeding to the earl-

dom of Lancaster on the death of his father, in 1345, was, on the 6th of March, 1351, created duke of Lancaster. He died in 1360, and was buried in the church of the college and hospital of the New-works, at Leicester, which he had founded. He was a brave and fortunate commander, and makes a great figure in Froissart's *Chronicle;* being at the same time of a mild and generous disposition, and so much beloved by the people as to be usually called *the good duke of Lancaster.* His piety, which may be now thought the least advantageous part of his character, procured him, if not actual canonization, at least the title of a saint, a circumstance unnoticed by historians.*

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L. 3. *Sir Wiliam of Klinton.*] Sir William Clinton, created earl of Huntingdon in 1338; died in 1354.

* "*Testimonia 'Laurentii Divianensis,' de præcipuis Carmelitanæ religionis fautoribus, scil.* SANCTO HENRICO PRIMO DUCE LANCASTRIÆ." MS. Harl. 1819, fol. 13. The house of Lancaster, indeed, was peculiarly distinguished by *the odour of sanctity:* the miracles of his uncle, St. Thomas, were long celebrated; and that his descendant, Henry VI. was not raised to the same honour, is solely ascribable to the avarice of his immediate successor of the same name.

L. 9. *The gude erle of Glowceter.*] Hugh Despenser; died in 1350.

L. 20. *Cagent.*] The isle of Cadsand, in the mouth of the Scheld.

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L. 3. *The* Kogges of Ingland.] This seems the proper name of the ship. The word *coggis* is used by bishop Douglas in the sense of *boats* or *pinnaces:*

> "And sum with airis into the *coggis* small
> Ettilit to land."

The latter are now called *cocks* or *cock-boats.* The original word, *cog* or *cogue,* is still, in Scotland, the name of a wooden vessel used for supping or drinking out of. *The Koggis of Ingland* is perhaps the identical ship which Stow calls *the Blacke Cocke.* In 1340, the earl of Gloucester, being to go to sea in the king's service, had two ships assigned to him out of the royal navy, viz. "the S. Mary *Cogg,* and the *Cogg* of Clyne." Dugdale's *Baronage,* vol. i. p. 395. See also Spelman's *Glossary,* voce Cogones. The *Cristofir* has been already mentioned.

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VI. HERKINS HOW KING EDWARD LAY WITH HIS MEN BIFOR TOURNAY.]

The king and his allies laid siege to Tournay on the of July, 1340, and raised it, by reason of a truce agreed upon between him and king Philip, on the of September in the same year. See Froissart's *Chronicle*, vol. i. cc. 53, et seq.

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L. 13. *To stop Philip the strate,*
Ful still.] This species of verse, which was probably common enough in our author's time, though perhaps confined to popular compositions, now lost, is introduced, for the sake of ridicule, no doubt, by Chaucer in his *Rime of Sire Thopas*. Tyrwhitt, who had not observed the present instance, nor met, it seems, with any other, is very much at a loss to account for it. See his Notes on the *Canterbury Tales*, 1775, vol. iv. p. 37.

L. 18. *A duke tuke leve that tide.*] Froissart affords no ground to accuse the duke of treachery or defection: he merely says that, on raising the siege, "the Brabances departed quickely, for they

had 'great' desyre therto." Indeed it was said that the besieged, whom the king thought to famish, "founde somme courtesy en theym of Brabaunt, in sufferynge vytayles to passe throughe their hoost into the cytie: and they of Brussels and Lovane were sore wery with taryeng there so long, & they desyred the marshall of thost that they might have leave to retourne into Brabant. The marshall sayd, he was well content; but than they must leave all their harnes behynd them: with the which answere they were so ashamed, that they never spake therof more." It is, however, highly probable that the duke, who was one of the king of England's commissioners to treat of the truce, might be particularly eager to have it concluded; since the king "departed sore agaynst his mynde, if he myght have done otherwyse, but in maner he was fayne to folowe the wylles of the other lordes, and to byleve theyr counsayls."

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L. 1. *Men may rede in romance right*
Of a grete clerk that Merlin *hight.*] Merlin, surnamed Ambrosius, the son of an incubus, is a prophet and enchanter in the fabulous history

or romance, professed to have been translated out of the ancient British language, but perhaps written in original Latin, by Jeffrey of Monmouth, afterward Bishop of St. Asaph, about the year 1125. Vortegirn, king of the Britons, having been spectator of a battle between two dragons, commands honest Ambrose to tell him what it portended: upon which he, bursting into tears, delivers, at some length, the suggestions of his prophetical spirit; in the course of which he says: "From Conan shall proceed a warlike boar, that shall exercise the sharpness of his tusks within the Gallician woods. For he shall cut down all the larger oaks, and shall be a defence to the smaller. The Arabians and Africans shall dread him; for he shall pursue his furious course to the farther part of Spain." See *The British History*, translated by Aaron Thompson, 1718, 8vo. p. 212. The author chooses to apply this image to his hero, whom he frequently, both in this and the following poems, calls *a bore*, or *the bare*.

There was also another Merlin, surnamed *Silvestris*, or *Caledonius*, who prophesied of king Charles II. under the figure of a boar. See *British and Outlandish Prophesies*, by Thomas Pugh, gentleman, 1658, 4to. p. 153.

Many copies of these prophecies, considerably differing from each other, are still extant, both in French and Latin; but it would be a matter of difficulty, perhaps, to find the identical authority vouched by our author.* It may, however, be deemed sufficient for the present purpose, to cite the character of his hero from certain "Prophecies of Merlin," evidently composed in their own time, as extant in the Cotton MS.

"Efter the gayt† sall cum a lyon,
That in hert ful fers and fell sall be fun;
His bihalding sall be ful of petè,
His sembland to seke rest lykind sall be,
His brest alswa sall be slokening of threst,
Untill all lufes pese and rest,
His tong sall speke wordes all of lewtè,
His bering like a lamb meke sal be;
He sall have trey and tene in bigining,
To chistise misdoers of wrang lifing;

* That part of Robert Mannyng's translation of Peter Langtoft's *Chronicle* which contains the British history, has not been published, though the work is still extant in manuscript, in the Inner-Temple library; and it appears, from Tanner, that another copy is in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth. The prophecy may, probably, be there given more in our author's manner.

† Edward II.

And als thurgh felnes sethin sall he seke,
Till he have made the folk als lamb to be meke.
He sall be cald in the werld, als wide als it es,
Bare of hele, of nobillay, and of felnes.
Als a lamb sall he [be] milde and meke,
And unto rightwisnes ay sall he seke.
This ilk beste that es the bare named biforn
Cumes out of Windesore, thare bese he born.
Whetand his tuskes sall that ilk bare
Fare thurgh foure landes thar he come never are;
And evermore his jornay ever ilka dele
Sall he do hardily, nobilly and wele;
Till the burgh of Jerusalem and to the haly land,
Sall he find none ogains him to stand.
Spayne sall trembill for tene and for care,
Aragowne sall have drede and dout of the bare.
In France sall he sett his hevid biforn;
His tail sal rest in Yngland, whare he was born;
He sal whet his tuskes on Pariss zates;
Almayn sal be ful ferd for his lates.
He sall gar revers and mani grete flode
Be rinand with hernes and with rede blode.
The gresses that er grene sal he rede make;
Mani man for the bare sal trembill and quake.
In alkins landes win sall the bare
That any of his eldres has losed are.

So nobil and so doghty sall the bare be
That he sall or he dy were corons thre.
Underlout sall he mak ilk outen land
To be at his will and bow till his hand.
Wele more sall the bare conquer and win
Than ani did bifore of all his end kin.
All lordes sall him lout without ani lese,
And than sall his land be in swith gude pese:
Sethin in a fer land end sall he,
And for his nobilles be graven bitwen kinges thre."

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L. 3. *For* John of France *will he noght spare.*] John of France is John duke of Normandy, son to king Philip, whom he succeeded on the 23d of August, 1350.

L. 15. *For France now es he entred in.*] "Whan the kynge of England," says Froissart, "arryved in the Hogue Saynt Wast,* the kinge yssued out of his shyppe, and the fyrst fote that he sette on the grounde, he fell so rudely that the blode braste out of his nose: the knyghtes that were aboute him toke him up, and sayd, Sir, for goddes sake, enter in agayne into your shyp, and

* La Hogue.

come nat a lande this day; for this is but an evyll sygne for us. Than the kyng answered quyckely, and sayd, Wherfore this is a good token for me, for the lande desyreth to have me. Of the whiche answere all his men were ryght joyful: so that day and nyght the kynge lodged on the sandes, and in the mean tyme dyscharged the shyppes of their horses and other bagages. There the kynge made two marshals of his hoost, the one the lorde Godfray of Harecourt, and the other therle of Warwyke, and the erle of Arundell constable. And he ordayned that therle of Huntyngdon shulde kepe the flete of shyppes with c. men of armes, and foure c. archars. And also he ordeyned the batayls, one to go on his ryght hande, closynge to the see syde, and the other on his lefte hande, and the kynge himselfe in the myddes, and every nyght to lodge al in one felde. Thus they sette forth as they were ordayned; and [after taking, robbing, or burning the towns of "Harflewe, Cherbourgue, Mountbourgue, Quarentyne," and "many other townes in that country;" and, lastly, "a great towne called Saynt Lowe,"] the kynge went towarde Cane, the whiche was a greater towne, and full of drapery, and other marchauntdyse, and ryche burgesses, noble ladyes and damosels, and

sayre churches, and specially two 'great' and ryche abeys, one of the Trynytee, another of saynt Stephyn; and on the one syde of the towne one of the fayrest castells of all Normandy, and capitayne therin was Roberte of Blargny, with thre hundred Genowayes; and in the towne was therle of Ewe and of Guynes, constable of Fraunce, and therle of Tankervyll, with a good nombre of men of warre. The king of England rode that day in good order, and logedde al his batayls togyder that night, a two leages fro Cane, in a towne with a lytell havyn called Haustreham; and thyder came also his navy of shyppes, with therle of Huntyngdone, who was governour of them. The constable and other lordes of France that nyght watched well the towne of Cane, and in the mornynge armed them, with all them of the towne. Than the constable ordayned that none shulde yssue out, but kepe their defences on the walles, gate, bridge, and ryver, and lette the subbarbes voyde, bycause they were nat closedde, for they thought they shulde have ynough to do to defende the towne, bycause it was nat closedde but with the ryver. They of the towne sayde howe they wolde yssue out, for they were stronge ynough to fyght with the kyng of Englande. Whan the

constable sawe their goodwyls, he sayde, In the name of god, be it; ye shall not fyght without me. Than they yssued oute in good order; and made good face to fyght, and to defende theym, and to putte their lyves in adventure.

"The same daye thenglyssh men rose erly, and appayrelled them redy to go to Cane: the kynge harde noyse before the sonne-rysinge; and than toke his horse, and the prince his son, with sir Godfraye of Harcourt, marshall and leader of all the hoost, whose counsayle the kynge moche followed. Than they drewe towarde Cane with their batels in good aray; and so aproched the good towne of Cane. Whanne they of the towne, who were redy in the felde, sawe these thre batayls commyng in good order, with their baners and standerdes wavynge in the wynde, and the archers, the which they had nat bene accustomed to se, they were sore afrayd, and fledde away towarde the towne, without any order or good aray, for all that the constable coulde do: than the Englysshmen pursued them egerly. Whan the constable and the erle of Tankervyll sawe that, they toke a gate at the entry, and saved themself and certayne with them; for the Englysshmen were entred into the towne. Some of the knyghtes and

squyers of Fraunce, suche as knewe the waye to the castell, went thyder, and the captayne there received them all, for the castell was large. Thenglysshmen in the chase slewe many, for they toke none to mercy. Than the constable and the erle of Tankervyll, beynge in the lytell towre at the bridge fote, loked alonge the strete, and saw their men slayne without mercy, they douted to fall in their handes. At last they sawe an Englysshe knyght with one eye, called sir Thomas Holande, and a fyve or sixe other knyghtes with hym; they knewe them, for they had sene them before in Pruce, in Grenade, and other vyages: than they called to sir Thomas, and sayde howe they wolde yelde themselfe prisoners. Than sir Thomas came thider with his company, and mounted up into the gate, and there founde the sayde lordes with xxv. knyghtes with them, who yelded them to sir Thomas, and he toke them for his prisoners, and left company to kepe theym; and than mounted agayne on his horse, and rode into the streates, and saved many lyves, of ladyes, damosels, and cloysterers fro defoylynge, for the soudyers were without mercy. It fell so well the same season for thenglysshmen, that the ryver, whiche was able to bere shyppes at that tyme, was so lowe that men

went in and out besyde the bridge. They of the towne were entred into their houses, and cast downe in the strete stones, tymbre and yron; and slewe and hurte mo than fyve hundred Englysshmen, wherwith the kynge was sore displeased. At nyght, whan he hard therof, he commaunded that the next daye all shulde be putte to the swerde and the towne brent; but than sir Godfray of Harecourt sayd: Dere sir, for goddes sake, asswage somewhat youre courage; and let it suffyce you that ye have done. Ye have yet a great voyage to do, er ye come before Calys, whyder ye purpose to go; and, sir, in this towne there is moche people, who will defend their houses; and it woll cost many of your men their lyves, er ye have all at your wyll; wherby, paraventure, ye shall nat kepe your purpose to Calys, the whiche shulde redowne to your rech. Sir, save your people; for ye shall have nede of them or this moneth passe; for i thynke verely your adversary kynge Philyppe woll mete with you to fyght, and ye shall fynde many strayt passages and rencounters. Wherfore your men, and ye had mo, shall stande you in gode stede: and, sir, without any further sleynge, ye shall be lorde of this towne; men and women woll put 'al' that they have to your pleasure.

Than the kyng sayd, Sir Godfraye, you ar our marshall; ordayne every thynge as ye woll. Than sir Godfray, with his baner, rode fro strete to strete, and commaunded, in the kynges name, non be so hardy to put fyre in any house, to slee any persone, nor to vyolate any woman. Whan they of the towne hard that crye, they receyved the Englysshmen into their houses, and made theym good chere; and some opyned their coffers, an badde them take what them lyst, so they myght be assured of ther lyves: howe beit there were done in the towne many yvell dedes, 'murders,' and roberyes. Thus the Englysshmen were lordes of the towne thre dayes, and wanne great richesse, the which they sent by barkesse and barges to Saynte Savyoure, by the ryver of Austrehen, a two leages thens; where as all their navy lay. Than the kyng departed fro the towne of Cane, and rode in the same maner as he dyde before; brennynge and exilynge the countrey." *Chronicle*, ut supra, vol. i. cc. 122, et seq.

L. 19. *Hogges.*] Or La Hogue, a sea-port town of Normandy, about two leagues S. of Barfleur.

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L. 24. *The toun of* Cane *thai set on fire.*] This

is a mistake, as appears from the preceding extract. After leaving Caen, the king burnt the town of "Gysors, Saynte Germayne in Laye, Mountjoy, Saynte Clowde, Petit Bolayne by Parys, and the quenes Bourge." On quitting the vicinity of Paris, he hanged twenty of his men for setting fire to the fair and rich abbey of Saint Messine, near to Beauvais, the suburbs of which town were burned, as was also the town of Poys. See Froissart, ut supra, vol. i. chap. 125.

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L. 10. *At* Cressy *when thai* brak the brig.] No particular mention is made by Froissart of the breaking of this bridge; he only says, that "the kyng of Englande being at Araynes wyst nat where for to passe the Some, the which was large and depe, and all briges were brokin, and the passages well kept."

L. 14. *Over that water er thai went.*] "Whan 'the Frenche kyng' was at Amyense he had ordayned a great barowne of Normandy, called sir Godmar du Fay, to go and kepe the passade of Blanche Taque, where the Englysshmen must passe, or els in none other place: he had with hym m. men of armes, and sixe thousand a fote,

with the Genowayes; soo they went by Saynte Reyngnyer in Ponthieu, and fro thens to Crotay, whereas the passage lay. And also he had with hym a great nombre of men of the countrey, and also a great nombre of theym of Mutterell; so that they were a twelfe thousand men, one and other. Whan the Englysshe hoost was come thyder, sir Godmar du Fay araunged all his company to defende the passage. The kyng of Englande lette nat for all that, but whanne the fludde was gone, he commaunded his marshall to entre into the water, in the name of god and saynt George. Than they that were hardy and coragyous entred in bothe parties, and many a man reversed: there were some of the Frenchmen of Arthoyes and Pycardy that were as gladde to just in the water as on the drye lande. The Frenchemen defended so well the passage at the yssuyng out of the water, that they had moche to do: the Genowayes dyde them great trouble with their crosbowes. On thother syde the archers of Englande shotte so holly togyder, that the Frenchmen were fayne to gyve place to the Englysshmen. There was a sore batayle, and many a noble feate of armes done on both parties: finally, thenglysshmen passed over, and assembled togyder in the felde. The kynge

and the prince passed, and all the lordes: than the Frenchmen kept none array, but departed he that might best. Whan sir Godmar sawe that disconfyture, he fledde and saved hymselfe: some fledde to Abvyle, and some to Saynte Raygnyer. They that were there a fote coude nat flee; so that there were slayne a great numbre of them of Abvyle, Muttrell, Arras, and of Saynt Reygnier: the chase endured more than a great leag. And as yet all the Englysshmen were nat passed the ryver, certayne currours of the kyng of Behayne, and of sir Johan of Heynaultes, came on them that were behind, and toke certayne horses and caryages, and slewe dyvers, or they coude take the passage." Froissart, ut supra, vol. i. chap. 127.

L. 21. *He saw the toun o ferrum bren.*] Our author is still speaking, it would seem, of the town of Cane; for, if he means the town of Cressy, he must have been misinformed, as Crotay seems to have been the only place burned after the king passed the river. He arrived on Friday, the 14th of August, 1346, in the neighbourhood of Cressy, where he encamped; the king of France lying with a great army at Abbeville.

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L. 1. *Than come Philip, ful redy dight.*] This is the famous battle of Cressy, of which Froissart's account, though somewhat prolix, is very curious and minute. "On the Fridaye, as i sayde before, the kyng of Englande lay in the feldes; for the contrey was plentyfull of wynes and other vytayle; and, yf nede had bene, they had provysyon folowynge in cartes and other caryages. That nyght the kynge mad a supper to all his chefe lordes of the hoost, & made them good chere: and whan they were all departed to take their rest, than the kynge entred into his oratorie, and kneled downe before the auter, praeng god devoutly, that if he fought the next day, that he might achyve the journey to his honour. Than aboute midnyght he layde hym downe to reste; and in the mornynge he rose betymes, and harde masse, and the prince his sonne with hym; and the moste parte of his company were confessed and houseled: and, 'after' the masse sayde, he commaunded every man to be armed, & to drawe to the felde, to the same place before apoynted. Than the kynge caused a parke to be made by the wode syde, behynde his hoost; and there was set all

cartes and caryages, and within the parke were all their horses, for every man was afote: and into thys parke there was but one entry. Than he ordayned thre batayls. In the first, the yonge prince of Wales, with hym the erle of Warwyke and Canforde, the lorde Godfray of Harecourt, sir Reynolde Cobham, sir Thomas Holande, the lorde Stafforde, the lorde of Mauny, the lorde Dalaware, sir Johan Chandos, sir Bartylmewe de Bomes, sir Roberte Nevyll, the lorde Thomas Clyfforde, the lorde Bourchier, the lorde de la Tumyer, and dyvers other knytes and squyers that i can nat name: they were an viii. hundred men of armes, and two thousande archers, and a thousande of other, with the Walsshmen: every lorde drue to the felde apoynted, under his owne baner and penone. In the second batayle, was therle of Northampton, the erle of Arundell, the lorde Rosse, the lorde Lygo, the lorde Wyloughby, the lorde Basset, the lorde of Saynt Aubyne, sir Loyes Tueton, the lorde of Myleton, the lorde de la Sell, and dyvers other, about an eight hundred men of armes, and twelf hundred archers. The third batayle had the kynge: he had sevyn hundred men of armes, and two thousande archers. Than the kyng lept on a hobby, with a

whyte rodde in his hand, one of his marshals on the one hande, and the other on the other hande: he rode fro renke to renke, desyringe every man to take hede that daye to his right and honour. He spake it so swetely, and with so good countenance and mery chere, that all such as were disconfyted toke courage in the sayeng and herynge of hym. And whan he had thus visyted all his batayles, it was then nyne of the day: than he caused every man to eate & drynke a lytell, and so they dyde at their leaser; and afterwarde they ordred agayne their bataylles: than every man lay downe on the yerthe, and by hym his salet and bowe, to be the more fressher whan their ennemyes shulde come.

"This Saturdaye the Frenche kynge rose betymes, and hard masse in Abvyle, in his lodgynge in the abey of Saynte Peter; and he departed after the sonne-risyng. Whan he was out of the towne two leages, aprochyng towarde his ennemyes, some of his lordes sayde to hym: Sir, it were good that ye ordred your batayls, and let all your fotemen passe somewhat on before, that they be nat troubled with the horsemen. Than the kyng sent iiii. knyghtes, the Moyne Battell, the lorde of Noyers, the lorde of Beaujewe, and

the lorde Dambegny, to ryde to avyewe thenglysshe host; and so they rode so nere that they myght well se part of their dealyng. Thenglysshmen sawe them well, and knewe well howe they were come thyder to avieu them: they let them alone, and made no countenance towarde them, and let them retourne as they came. And whan the Frenche kyng sawe these foure knyghtes retourne agayne, he taryed tyll they came to hym; and sayd, Sirs, what tydynges? These four knyghtes eche of them loked on other, for there was none wolde speke before his companyon. Finally, the kynge sayd to Moyne, who pertayned to the kynge of Behaygne, and had done in his dayes somoch that he was reputed for one of the valyantest knightes of the worlde, Sir, speke you. Than he sayd: Sir, I shall speke, sith it pleaseth you, under the correction of my felawes: sir, we have ryden and sene the behavynge of your ennemyes; knowe ye for trouth, they are rested in thre batayls, abydinge for you. Sir, I woll counsell you, as for my parte, savynge your displeasure, that you and all your company, rest here and lodg for this nyght; for or they that be behynde of your company be come hyther, and or your batayls be set in good order, it wyll be very late,

and your people be wery and out of array; and ye shall fynde your ennemys fresshe and redy to receyve you. Erly in the mornynge ye maye order your bataylles at more leaser, and advise your ennemies at more delyberacion, and to regarde well what way ye will assayle theym; for, sir, surely they woll abyde you. Than the kynge commaunded that it shuld be so done. Than his ii. marshals one rode before, another behynde, sayenge to every baner, Tary and abyde here, in the name of god and saynt Denys. They that were formast taryed; but they that were behynde wolde nat tary, but rode forthe, and sayd howe they wold in no wyse abyde tyll they were as ferre forward as the formast. And whan they before sawe them come on behynde, than they rode forwarde agayne; so that the kyng nor his marshals coude nat rule them. So they rode withoute order in good araye, till they came in syght of their enemyes. And assone as the formast sawe them, they reculed than backe without good araye: wherof they behynde had marvell, and were abasshed, and thought that the formast compani had ben fightyng: than they myght have had leaser and rome to have gone forwarde if they had lyst. Some went forthe, and some abode styll.

The commons, of whome all the wayes bytwene Abvyle and Cressy were full, whan they sawe that they were nere to their ennemies, they toke their swerdes, and cryed, Downe with them—let us sle them all! There was no man, though he were present at the journey, that coude ymagen or shewe the trouth of the yvell order that was amonge the Frenche partie; and yet they were a mervelous greate nombre. That i wryte in this boke, i lerned it specyally of the Englysshmen, who well behelde their dealyng; and also certayne knyghtes of sir Johan of Henaultes, who was alwayes aboute kynge Philyppe, shewed me as they knewe.

"Thenglysshmen, who were in thre batayls, lyenge on the grounde to rest them, assone as they saw the Frenchmen aproche, they rose upon their fete, fayre and easely, withoute any hast, and aranged their batayls. The firste, whiche was the princes batell, the archers there stode in maner of a herse, and the men of armes in the botome of the batayle. Therle of Northamton & therle of Arundell, with the second batell, were on a wynge in good order, redy to confute the princes batayle, yf nede were. The lordes and knyghtes of France came nat to the assemble togyder in good order; for some came before, and

some came after, in suche hast and yvell order, that one of them dyd trouble another. Whan the French kyng sawe the Englysshmen, his blode chaunged, and sayde to his marshals, Make the Genowayes go on before, and begynne the batayle, in the name of god and saynt Denyse. There were of the Genowaies, crosbowes, about a fyftene thousand; but they were so wery of goyng a fote that day a six leages, armed with their crosbowes, that they sayde to their constables, We be nat well ordred to fyght this daye, for we be nat in the case to do any grete dede of armes; we have more nede of rest. These wordes came to the erle of Alanson, who sayd, A man is well at ease to be charged with suche a sorte of rascalles, to be faynt and fayle nowe at moost nede! Also, the same season, there fell a great rayne and a clyps, with a terryble thonder; and before the rayne there came fleyng over bothe batayls a great nombre of crowes, for feare of the tempest commyng. Than anone the eyre beganne to waxe clere, and the sonne to shyne fayre and bright; the whiche was right in the Frenchmens eyen, and on the Englysshmens backe. Whan the Genowayes were assembled toguyder, and beganne to aproche, they made a great leape and crye to

abasshe thenglysshmen; but they stode styll, and styredde nat for all that. Thanne the Genowayes, agayne the seconde tyme, made another leape and a fell crye, and stepped forwarde a lytell; and thenglysshmen remeved nat one fote. Thirdly, agayne they leapt and cryed, and went forthe tyll they came within shotte: thanne they shotte fiersly with their crosbowes. Than thenglysshe archers stepte furthe one pase, and lette fly their arowes, so holly and so thycke, that it semed snowe. Whan the Genowayes felte the arowes persynge through 'heeds,' armes, and brestes, many of them cast downe their crosbowes, and dyde cutte their strynges, and retourned disconfyted. Whan the Frenche kynge sawe them flye awaye, he sayde, Slee these rascals, for they shall lette and trouble us withoute reason. Than ye shulde have sene the men of armes dasshe in among them, and kylled a great nombre of them. And ever styll the Englysshmen shot where as they sawe thyckest preace: the sharpe arowes ranne into the men of armes, and into their horses, and many fell, horse and men, amonge the Genoweys; and whan they were downe, they coude nat relyve agayne, the preace was so thycke, that one overthrewe another. And also amonge the Eng-

lysshmen there were certayne rascalles, that went afote, with greate knyves; and they went in among the men of armes, and slewe and murdredde many, as they lay on the grounde; bothe erles, 'barownes,' knyghtes, and squyers: wherof the kyng of Englande was after displeased; for he had rather they had bene taken prisoners. The valyant kynge of Behaygne, called Charles of Luzenbourge, sonne to the noble emperour Henry of Luzenbourge, for all that he was nyghe blynde, whan he understode the order of the batayle, he sayde to them about hym, Where is the lorde Charles my son? His men sayde, Sir, we cannat tell; we thynke he be fyghtynge. Than he sayde, Sirs, ye are my men, my companyons, and frendes, in this journey; i requyre you bryng me so farre forwarde, that i maye stryke one stroke with my swerde. They sayde they wolde do his commaundemente; and to the entent that they shulde nat lese hym in the prease, they tyed all their raynes of their bridelles eche to other, and sette the kynge before to acomplysshe his desyre; and so they went on their enemyes. The lorde Charles of Behaygne, his sonne, who wrote hymselfe kynge of Behaygne, and bare the armes, he came in good order to the batayle; but whanne he sawe

that the matter wente awrye on their parte, he departed, i can nat tell you whiche waye.* The kynge his father was so farre forewarde, that he strake a stroke with his swerde, ye and mo than fought valyantly; and so dyde his company; and they adventured themselfe so forwarde, that they were all slayne; and the next day they were founde in a place about the kynge, and all the horses tyed eche to other.† This batayle bytwene Broy and

* Leland, out of *Scala Chronica*, tells us, expressly that "this Charles, elected emperor, fled at the batail of Cresecy." *Collectanea* vol. i. p. 562.

† Prince Edward, then a youth of sixteen, is commonly pretended to have himself slain the king of Bohemia, and, in commemoration of that event, to have adopted the badge and motto borne on that day by his royal victim, and which have been ever since appropriated to the princes of Wales. See Camden's *Remains*, 1674, 8vo. p. 451. This anecdote is, nevertheless, very questionable, and perhaps totally destitute of foundation. The *ostrich-feathers*, at least, were certainly the badge, not only of the black prince, but also of his two brothers, John of Gaunt and Thomas of Woodstock, and continued to be the favourite distinction of the house of Lancaster till the time of Henry VI. and even much later, as appears by the seal of the old countess of Richmond, mother to Henry VII. They are likewise assumed by Richard duke of York, and his son, afterward king Edward IV. See Sandford's *Genealogical History*, 1677. Some person or other may, probably be able to clear up this matter; and, at the same time, to account, upon better authority than has yet appeared, for the origin of the TWO ROSES, which make so considerable a figure in English history. Camden, it is true, in page 452 of the above work, alledges, that "John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster,

Cressy, this Saturday, was ryght cruell and fell, and many a feat of armes done that came not to my knowlege. In the night, dyverse knyghtes and squyers lost their maisters, and somtyme came on thenglysshmen, who receyved theym in suche wyse, that they were ever nighe slayne; for there was none taken to mercy nor to raunsome; for so the Englysshmen were determyned in the mornyng

took as it were by right of his first wife, the heir of Lancaster, a *red rose* to his device, as Edmund of Langley, duke of York, took the *white rose*:" and, in the preceding page, he says that "Edmund Crouchbacke, first earl of Lancaster, used a *red rose*, wherewith his tomb at Westminster is adorned:" but, upon a pretty accurate examination of all the seals, arms, badges, and monuments, of the earls and dukes of Lancaster, published by Dugdale, Sandford, and others, it does not appear that any one of them ever used a *rose* for his device. On the contrary, as has been already noticed, the favourite cognizance of John of Gaunt, and from him, it would seem, of the house of Lancaster, was the *ostrich-feathers*; two of which appear upon the duchy-seal to this day. The roses, therefore, of earl Edmunds tomb may have been introduced merely by way of ornament, at the fancy of the artist. That the king of Bohemia used the device in question does not, perhaps, appear from any ancient or creditable authority.

Some of our best historians, as Murimuth, Walsingham, and Knyghton, agree in stating that the king of Majorca was also killed at this battle, which the authors of the *Universal History*, for the reasons there given, pronounce a falsehood. The authentic dispatches, likewise, preserved by Robert of Avesbury, p. 136, only mention "*le roi de Beaume*;" and the silence of our author, MINOT, is a corroborative testimony.

of the day of the batayle. Certayne Frenchemen and Almaygnes perforce opyned the archers of the princes batayle, and came and fought with the men of armes hande to hande. Than the seconde batayle of thenglysshmen came to socour the princes batayle; the whiche was tyme, for they had as than moche ado; and they with the prince sent a messenger to the kynge, who was on a lytell wyndmyll hyll. Than the knyght sayde to the kynge, Sir, therle of Warwyke, and therle of Canfort, sir Reynolde Cobham, and other suche as be about the prince your sonne, ar feersly fought withall, and are sore handled: wherfore they desyre you that you and your batayle wolle come and ayde them, for if the Frenchmen encrease, as they dout they woll, your sonne and they shall have moche ado. Than the kynge sayde, Is my sonne deed, or hurt, or on the yerthe felled? No, sir, quoth the knyght, but he is hardely matched; wherfore he hath nede of your ayde. Well, sayde the kyng, retourne to hym, and to them that sent you hyther, and say to them, that they sende no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my sonne is alyve: and also say to them, that they suffre hym this day to wynne his spurres; for, if god be pleased, i woll this journey be his,

and the honoure therof and to them that be aboute hym. Than the knyght retourned agayn to them, and shewed the kynges wordes, the which gretly eucouraged them; and repoyned in that they had sende to the kynge as they dyd. In the evenynge the Frenche kynge, who had left about hym no mo than a threescore persons, one and another, wherof sir Johan of Heynalt was one, who had remounted ons the kynge, for his horse was slayne with an arowe: than he sayde to the kynge, Sir, depart hense, for it is tyme: lese nat yourselfe wylfully; if ye have losse at this tyme, ye shall recover it agayne another season. And soo he toke the kinges horse by the brydell, and ledde hym away in a maner perforce. This Saturday the Englysshmen never departed fro their batayls for chasynge of any man, but kept styll their felde, and ever defended themselfe agaynst all such as came to assayle them. This batayle ended aboute evynsonge tyme.

"On this Saturdaye, when the nyght was come, and that thenglysshmen hard no more noyse of the Frenchemen, than they reputed themselfe to have the vyctorie, and the Frenchmen to be dysconfited, slayne and fled awaye. Than they made greate fyers, and lyghted up torchesse and can-

delles, bycause it was very darke: than the kyng avayled downe fro the lytell hyll whereas he stode, and of al that day tyll than his helme came never of on his heed. Than he went with all his batayle to his sonne the prince, and sayde, Fayre sonne, god gyve you good perseverance; ye ar my good son, thus ye have acquyted you nobly; ye ar worthy to kepe a realme. The prince inclyned himselfe to the yerthe, honouryng the kyng his father. This night they thanked god for their good adventure, and made no boost therof; for the kynge wolde that no manne shulde be proude or make boost, but every man humbly to thank god." Froissart's *Chronicle*, vol. i. cc. 128, 129, 130, 131.

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VII. How Edward, als the romance sais, Held the sege bifor Calais.]

"Whan the kyng of Englande was come before Calys, [on the 3d of September, 1346,] he layde his siege and ordayned bastides, betwene the towne and the ryver; he made carpenters to make houses, and lodgynges of great tymbre, and set the houses lyke 'streetes,' and coverd them with rede and brome; so that it was lyke

a lytell towne; and there was every thynge to sell, and a markette-place, to be kept every Tuesdaye and Saturday, for flesshe and fyssh, mercery-ware, houses for cloth, for bredde, wyne and all other thynges necessarie, suche as came out of England, or out of Flanders, there they myght bye what they lyst. The kynge wolde not assayle the towne of Calys; for he thought it but a lost labour: he spared his peple, & his artillery, and sayd howe he wold famysshe them in the towne with long siege, without the Frenche kyng come and reyse his siege perforce. Whan the capten of Calys sawe the maner and thorder of thenglysshmen, than he constrayned all poore and meane peple to yssue out of the towne. And on Wednysday there yssued out, of men, women and chyldren, mo than xvii.c. and as they passed through the hoost, they were demaunded why they departed; and they answered and sayde, bycause they had nothing to lyve on. Than the kyng dyd them that grace that he suffred them to passe through his host without danger, and gave them mete and drynke to dyner, and every person ii.d. sterlyng in almes; for the which dyners many of them prayed for the kynges prosperyte.

"Kinge Philyppe, who knewe well howe his men were sore constrayned in Calays, commaunded every manne to be with hym at the feest of Pentecost, in the citie of Amyense, or there about: there was none durst say nay. Whan they were all at Amyense, they toke counsayle; the Frenche kyng wold gladly that the passages of Flaunders myght have ben opyned to hym: for than he thought he might sende part of his men to Gravelyng, and by that way to refresshe the towne of Calys, and on that syde to fyght easely with thenglysshmen. He sende great messangers into 'Flaunders' to treat for that mater; but the kyng of Englande had there suche frendes, that they wolde never accorde to that curtesy: than the Frenche kyng said howe he wolde go thyder on the syde towarde Burgoyne. Than the kyng went to the towne of Arras, and sette many men of warre to the garysons of Arthoys. Than the French kyng and his company departed fro Arras and went to Hedyn; his hoost with the caryage held well in length a three leages of that contrey; and there he taryed a day, and the next day to Blangy. There he rested to take advyse what way to go forthe: than he was counsayled to go through the contrey called la Belme; and that

way he toke, and with him a cc.m. one and other; and so came streyght to the hyll of Sangattes, bytwene Calays and Wyssant. They came in goodly order with baners displayed, that hit was great beautie to beholde their puyssant array: they of Calys, whan they sawe them lodge, it semed to them a newe siege.

"Ye shall here what the kyng of Englande dyd. Whanne he sawe and knewe that the Frenche kyng came with so great an hoost to rayse the siege, the whiche had coste him so moche good, and payne of his body, and lost many of hys men, and knewe well howe he had so constrayned the towne, that hit coulde nat longe endure for defaute of vitayls, it greved hym sore than to depart. Than he advysed well howe the Frenchmen coude nat aproche nother to the hoost, nor to the towne, but in two places; other by the downes by the see syde, or elles above by the highe waye, and there was many dykes, rockes, and maresshes, and but one way to passe over the bridge called Newlande bridge. Than the kynge made all his navy to drawe along by the cost of the downes, every shyp well garnysshed with bombardes, crosbowes, archers, springalles, and other artyllary; wherby the Frenche hoost myght nat

passe that waye. And the kyng caused the erle of Derby to go and kepe Newlande-bridge with a great nombre of men of armes and archers, so that the Frenchmen coude natte passe no waye, 'without' they wolde have gone through the marshes, the whiche was unpossyble. On the other syde, towarde Calays, there was a hygh towre kept with xxx. archers, and they kept the passages of the downes fro the Frenchmen. The Frenche kyng sent his marshals to advyse what way he myght aproche to fyght with the Englysshmen: so they went forthe, and whan 'they' had advysed the passages and straytes, they retourned to the kyng, and sayde, howe in no wyse he coude come to the Englysshmen, without he wolde lese his people. So the mater rested all that day and nyght after. The next day, after masse, the Frenche kynge sende to the kynge of Englande the lord 'Geffraye' of Charney, the lord Ewstace of Rybamount,* Guy of Nele,

* This nobleman was taken prisoner, in single combat, by king Edward, fighting under the banner of sir Walter Manny, at the battle of Calais, in 1349. The night after the battle the king gave his prisoners a supper in the castle of Calais, and after supper he gave sir Eustace a chaplet of pearls from his own head, as the most valiant knight of the world, and set him free without ransom. Froissart's *Chronicle*, vol. i. cc. 151, 152.

and the lorde Beajewe; and as they rode that stronge way, they sawe well it was harde to passe that way. They praysed moche the order that the erle of Derby kept there at the bridge of Newlande, by the whiche they passed. Than they rode tyll they came to the kynge, who was well acompanyed with noble men aboute hym; thanne they foure lyghted, and came to the kynge, and dyde their reverence to hym. Than the lord Ewstace of Rybamount said, Sir, the kynge my mayster sendeth you worde by us that he is come to the mount of Sangate to do batayle with you; but he canne fynde no way to come to you: therfore, sir, he wolde that ye shulde apoynt certayne of your counsayle, and in lyke wise of his, and they betwene theym to advyse a place for the batayle. The kyng of Englande was redy advysed to answere, and sayde, Sirs, I have well understande that ye desyre me, on the behalfe of myne adversary, who kepeth wrongfully fro me myne herytage: wherfore i am sorie. Say unto hym fro me, if ye lyst, that i am here, and so have bene nyghe an hole yere, and all this he knew right well. He myght have come hyther soner, if he had wolde; but he hath suffred me to abide here so long, the whiche hath ben gretly to my coste and charge.

I nowe coude do so moche, if i wolde, to be sone lorde of Calays, wherfore I am natte determynedde to folowe his devyse and ease, nor to departe fro that whiche i am at the poynt to wynne, and that i have so sore desyred, and derely 'boughte:' wherfore if he nor his men canne passe this way, lette theym seke some other passage, if they thynke to come hyther. Thanne these lordes departed, and were conveyed tyll they were paste Newlande bridge: than they shewed the Frenche kynge the kynge of Englandes answere.

"In the meane seasone, whyle the Frenche kynge studyed howe to fight with the kyng of Englande, there came into his hoost two cardynalles from bishoppe Clement in legacion, who toke great payne to ryde bytwene these hoostes; and they procuredde so moche, that ther was graunted a certayne treatie of acorde, and a respyte bytwene the two kynges, and ther men, beynge there at siege and in the felde all onely. And so there were foure lordes apoynted on eyther partie to counsell togyder, and to treat for peace; and the two cardynalles were meanes betwene the parties. 'These' lordes mette thre dayes, and many devyses put forthe, but none effecte: than the two cardynalles returned to

Saynt-Omers; and whan the Frenche kynge sawe that he coude do nothynge, the next daye he dysloged by tymes, and toke his way to 'Amyens,' and gave every man leve to depart.

"After that the Frenche kynge was thus departed fro Sangate, they within Calays sawe well howe their socoure fayled them; for the whiche they were in great sorowe. Than they desyred so moche their captayn, sir Johan of Vyen, that he went to the walles of the towne, and made a sygne to speke with some person of the hoost. Whan the kynge harde therof, he sende thyder sir Galtier of Manny, and sir Basset. Than sir Johan of Vyen sayd to them: Sirs, ye be ryght valyant knyghtes in dedes of armes; and ye knowe well howe the kynge my mayster hath sende me and other to this towne, and commaunded us to kepe it to his behofe, in suche wyse that we take no blame, nor to hym no dammage; and we have done all that lyeth in oure power. Now oure socours hath fayled us; and we be so sore strayned, that we have nat to lyve withall, but that we muste all dye, or els enrage for famyn; without the noble and gentyll kyng of yours woll take mercy on us, the whiche to do we requyre you to desyre hym to have pyte on us, and to let us go

and depart as we be; and lette hym take the towne and castell, and all the goodes that be therin, the whiche is greate abundaunce. Than sir Gaultyer of Manny sayde, Sir, we knowe somwhat of the entencyon of the kynge our mayster, for he hath shewed it unto us: surely, knowe, for trouth, it is nat his mynde that ye, nor they within the towne, shulde depart so; for it is his wyll that ye all shude put yourselfes into his pure wyll, to ransome all suche as pleaseth hym, and to putte to dethe suche as he lyste: for they of Calays hath done hym suche contraryes and dispyghtes, and hath caused hym to dyspende soo moche good, and lost many of his menne, that he is sore greved agaynst them. Than the captayne sayde, Sir, this is to harde a mater to us; we ar here within a small sorte of knightes and squyers, who hath trewely served the kyng our maister, as well as ye serve yours. In lyke case, and we have endured moche payne and unease, but we shall yet endure asmoche payne as ever knyghtes dyd, rather thanne to consent that the worst ladde in the towne shulde have any more yvell than the gretest of us all. Therfore, sir, we praye you, that of your humylite, yet that ye woll go and speke to the kynge of Englande; and

desyre hym to have pitie of us; for we truste in hym so moche gentylnesse, that by the grace of god, his purpose shall chaunge. Sir Galtier of Manny and sir Basset retourned to the kynge, and declared to hym all that hadde bene sayde. The kynge sayde, he wolde none other wyse, but that they shulde yelde them up symply to his pleasure. Than sir Gaultier sayde, Sir, savynge your displeasure, in this, ye may be in the wronge; for ye shall gyve by this an yvell ensample. If ye sende any of us your servauntes into any fortresse, we woll nat be very gladde to go, if ye putte any of theym in the town to dethe after they be yelded: for in lyke wise they woll deale with us, if the case fell lyke. The whiche wordes dyverse other lordes that were there present sustayned and maynteyned. Than the kynge sayde, Sirs, i will nat be alone agaynste you all; therfore, sir Gaultier of Many, ye shall goo, and saye to the captayne, that all the grace that they shall fynde nowe in me is, that they lette sixe of the chief burgesses of the towne 'come' out bareheeded, barefoted and barelegged, and in their shertes, with haulters about their neckes, with the kayes of the towne and castell in their handes; and lette theym sixe yelde themselfe purely to my wyll, and the resy-

dewe i will take to mercy. Than syr Gaultyer retourned, and founde syr Johan of Vyen styll on the wall, abydynge for an answere: thanne sir Gaultyer shewed hym all the grace that he coulde gette of the kynge. Well, quod sir Johan, sir, i requyre you tary here a certayne space, tyll i go in to the towne, and shewe this to the commons of the towne, who sent me hyder. Than sir Johan went unto the market-place, and souned the common bell; than incontynent men and women assembled there: than the captayne made reporte of all that he had done, and sayde, Sirs, it wyll be none otherwyse; therfore nowe take advyse, and make a shorte aunswere. Thanne all the people beganne to wepe, and to make suche sorowe, that there was nat so herd a hert, yf they had sene them, but that wolde have had great pytie on theym: the captayne hymselfe wepte pytiously. At last the moost ryche burgesse of all the towne, called Ewstace of Saynte-Peters, rose up and sayde openly: Sirs, great and small, greate myschiefe it shulde be to suffre to dye suche people as be in this towne, other by famyn or otherwyse, whan there is meane to save theym. I thynke he or they shulde have great merette of our lorde god, that myght kepe theym fro suche myscheife. As

for my parte, i have so good truste in our lorde god, that yf i dye in the quarell to save the resydewe, that god wolde pardone me. Wherfore, to save them, i wyll be the first to putte my lyfe in jeopardy. Whan he had thus sayde, every man worshypped hym, and dyvers kneled downe at his fete, with sore wepyng, and sore syghes. Than another honeste burgesse rose, and sayde, I wyll kepe company with my gossuppe Ewstace: he was called Johan Dayre. Than rose up Jaques of Wyssant, who was ryche in goodes and herytage; he sayd also, that he wolde hold company with his two cosyns in lyke wyse; so dyd Peter of Wyssant his brother: and thanne rose two other; they sayde they wolde do the same. Thanne they went and apparelled them as the kyng desyred. Than the captayne went with them to the gate: there was great lamentacyon made, of men, women and chyldren, at their departynge. Than the gate was opyned, and he yssued out with the vi. burgesses and closed the gate agayne, so that they were bytwene the gate and the barryers. Than he sayde to sir Gaultyer of Manny, Sir, i delyver here to you, as captayne of Calys, by the hole consent of all the people of the towne, the six burgesses; and i swere to you truely, that they be and were

to day moost honourable, ryche, and moste notable burgesses of all the towne of Calys. Wherfore, gentyll knyght, i requyre you, pray the kyng to have mercy on theym, that they dye nat. Quod sir Gaultyer, I can nat say what the kynge wyll do; but i shall do for them the best i can. Thanne the barryers were opyned, the sixe burgesses wente towardes, the kynge, and the captayne entred agayne into the towne. Whan sir Gaultier presented these burgesses to the kyng, they kneled downe, and held up their handes and sayde: Gentyll kynge, beholde here, we sixe, who were burgesses of Calays, and great marchantes, we have brought to you the kayes of the towne, and of the castell: and we submyt oure selfe clerely into youre wyll and pleasure, to save the resydue of the people of Calays, who have suffred greate payne. Sir, we beseche youre grace to have mercy and pytie on us, through your hygh nobles. Than all the erles and barownes and other that were there wept for pytie. The kynge loked felly on theym, for greatly he hated the people of Calys, for the great damages and displeasures they had done hym on the see before. Than he commaunded their heedes to be stryken of. Than every man required the kyng

for mercy; but he wolde here no man in that 'behalfe.' Than sir Gaultyer of Manny sayd: A, noble kynge, for goddes sake refrayne 'your' courage; ye have the name of souverayne nobles: therfore nowe do nat a thyng that shulde blemysshe your renome, nor to gyve cause to some to speke of you vyllany. Every mon woll say it is a great cruelty to put to dethe suche honest persons, who by their owne wylles putte themselfe into youre grace to save their company. Than the kyng wryed away fro hym, and commaunded to sende for the hangman; and sayde, They of Calys hath caused many of my men to be slaine, wherfore these shall dye in lyke wyse. Than the quene, beynge great with chylde, kneled downe, and sore wepynge, sayd: A gentyll sir, sith i passed the see in great parell i have desyred nothynge of you; therfore nowe i humbly requyre you, in the honour of the son of the virgyn Mary, and for the love of me, that ye woll take mercy of these six burgesses. The kynge behelde the quene, and stode styll in a study a space, and then sayd: A, dame, i wold ye had ben as nowe in some other place; ye make suche request to me that i can nat deny you: wherfore i gyve them to you, to do your pleasure with theym. Than the quene caused

them to be brought into her chambre, and made the halters to be taken fro their neckes, and caused them to be newe clothed, and gave them their dyner at their leser: and than she gave ech of them sixe nobles, and made them to be brought out of thoost in savegarde, and set at their lyberte. Thus the stronge towne of Calys was gyven up to kyng Edwarde of Englande the yere of our lorde god m.ccc.xlvi. in the moneth of August." Froissart's *Chronicle*, vol. i. chap. 133, 134, &c.

To this relation of Froissart, it may not be improper to add the discovery and reflections made, some years since, by M. Brequigny, in consequence of his researches in London, relative to the history of France, as communicated by him in a memoir of the French academy.

"I shall not examine the several circumstances of Froissart's relation, of which he is the only voucher. Perhaps it may be thought difficult to reconcile them with certain facts hitherto unknown, but of incontestable authenticity; which I shall content myself to report.

"The queen, who is supposed to have been so touched with the misery of the six burgesses, whose life she had saved, did not fail to obtain, a few days after, the confiscation of the houses

which John d'Aire, one of them, had possessed in Calais.

"The greater part of the other houses were given to the English, whom Edward called thither by his letters of the 12th of August. Calais had cost him too dear; he felt the importance of such a place too much to neglect any thing which might ensure its preservation. Even the habitations which he there granted to his subjects were not given without a clause of selling them to none but the English.

"It is not, however, necessary to imagine, as one commonly believes upon the faith of historians, that every former possessor was driven out, that every Frenchman was excluded. I have seen, on the contrary, a number of French names among those of the persons to whom Edward granted houses in his new conquest. But I did not expect to find in the number of those who had accepted the favours of the new sovereign, him who appeared the most likely to disdain them, the famous Eustache de Saint-Pierre.

"By letters of the 8th of October, 1347, two months after the surrender of Calais, Edward gave to Eustache a considerable pension, till he should provide for him more amply. The mo-

tives of this favour, are the services which he owed to render, either in maintaining good order in Calais, or in watching the safety of that place. Other letters of the same date, founded on the same motives, grant to him and his heirs the greatest part of the houses and ground which he had possessed in that city, and add to them, further, some others. That Eustache de Saint-Pierre, the man who is painted to us as immolating himself with so much generosity to the duties of subject and citizen, could consent to acknowledge for sovereign the enemy of his country, to engage solemnly to preserve for him that very place which he had so long defended against him; in fine, to bind himself to him by the strongest tie for a noble mind, the acceptance of a favour, seems to accord little with the high idea hitherto given of his patriotic heroism.

"His conduct, perhaps, will be attributed to the vexation excited by some discontent; and it will be alledged that Froissart has said, that Philip did nothing to recompense the courage and fidelity of the brave Calesians. But Froissart was ill-informed. We have many ordinances of Philip, by which he provides for the indemnity of the unfortunate inhabitants of Calais; we have

some which prove that this indemnity took effect; and the kings, his successors, John II. and Charles V. paid still more attention to them.

"It must therefore be confessed that the glory of Eustache de Saint-Pierre is somewhat tarnished; and, since the facts which I expose appear to impeach it, I shall make bold to draw from them the conjectures to which they give birth.

"We have seen, by the letters of the Calesians, that their final resolution was to sally out of their walls sword in hand, and to seek, through the English army, death or liberty. It appears evident that Eustache combated this desperate resolution. In the last council held at Calais, he rose the first, and gave his opinion, according to the relation of Froissart himself, to surrender on the conditions which Edward dictated. He saved, by this mean, the besieged, and spared the blood of the besiegers; he served equally both parties. Edward had reason to take this in good part, and was willing to prove it to him by favours. He had even reasons to seek to attach to himself a man of so great weight in the city; and he succeeded at length in forcing Eustache to be grateful. This, it appears to me, is what naturally results from the combination of the facts which I have

stated." Vide *Memoires de Litterature de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, vol. xxxvii. p. 528.

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VIII. SIR DAVID HAD OF HIS MEN GRETE LOSS,
WITH SIR EDWARD, AT THE NEVIL-CROSS.]

"Whan the kynge of Englande," says Froissart, "had besieged Calays, and lay there, than the Scottes determyned to make warre into Englande, and to be revenged of such hurtes as they had taken before; for they sayde than, howe that the realme of Englande was voyde of men of warre, for they were, as they sayde, with the kyng of Englande before Calys, and some in Bretaygne, Poyctou, and Gascoyne. The Frenche kyng dyd what he coude to styre the Scottes to that warre, to the entent that the kynge of Englande shulde breke up his siege, and retourne to defende his own realme.* The kynge of Scottes made his

* Thus Winton, who has a long chapter—

"Quhen kyng David passyt fra hame
Till the batell of Durame:"

"A thowsand and thre hunder yhere
And sex and fourty to tha clere,

sommons to be at Saynt-Johans-towne, on the ryver of Taye, in Scotlande: thyder came erles,

The kyng of Frawns set hym to rass
And sat a sege befor Calays,
And wrate in Scotland till our kyng
Specyally be 'tha' praying
To pass on were in-till Ingland:
For he sayd he suld tak on hand
On other halff thame for to warray,
Sa upon bathe halfis suld thai
Be straytly stad: oure kyng Dawy,
That wes yhowng, stowt, and rycht joly,
And yharnyd for to se fychtyng,
Grawntyt the kyng off Frawncys yharnyng,"

The same historian represents the allegation of '*none being at home to let hym the way*,' to have occurred at a conference on taking 'the pele of Lyddale:'

"Than consalyd Willame off Dowglas,
That off weris mast wyss than was,
To turne agayne in thair cuntre;
He sayd that with thair honeste
Thai mycht agayne repayr rycht welle
Syne thai off fors had tane that pelle.
Bot othir lordis that war by
Sayd he had fillyd fullyly
His baggis, and thairis all twme war,
Thai sai that thai mycht rycht welle fare
Till Lwndyn, for in Ingland than
Off gret mycht was lefft na man;
For thai sayd all war in Frawns,
Bot sowteris, skynneris, or marchawns.
The Dowglas thare mycht noucht be herd,
Bot on thaire way all furth thai ferd."

barownes and prelates of Scotlande; and there agreed, that, in all haste possyble, they should entre into Englande. To come in that journey was desyred Johan of the out iles, who governed the wylde Scottes; for to hym they obeyed, and to no many els. He came with a thre thousande of the moost couragyoust people in all that countrey. Whan all the Scottes were assembled, they were, of one and other, a fiftye thousande fyghtynge menne. They coude nat make their assemble so secrete, but that the quene of Englande, who was as thanne in the marchesse in the north, about Yorke, knewe all their dealynge. Than she sent all about for menne, and lay herselfe at Yorke: than all men of warre and archers came to Newcastell with the quene. In the meane season, the kyng of Scottes departed fro Saynt-Johannes towne, and wente to Donefremelyne the firste daye; the nexte daye they passed an arme of the see, and so came to Estermelyne, and than to Edenbrough. Than they nombred their company, and they were a thre thousande men of armes, knyghtes and squyers, and a thretie thousande of other on hackenayes. Than they came to Rousbourge, the first fortresse Englyssh on that parte; captayne there was sir Wyllyam Monta-

gue: the Scottes passed by, without any assaut makynge; and so wente forthe brennynge and distroyenge the countrey of Northumberlande; and their currours ranne to Yorke, and brent as moche as was without the walles, and retourned agayne to their hoost, within a dayes journey of Newcastell upon Tyne.

"The quene of Englande, who desyred to defende her contrey, came to Newcastell upon Tyne, and there taryed for her men, who came dayly fro all partes. Whan the Scottes knewe that the Englysshemen assembled at Newcastell, they drue thyderwarde, and their currours came rennynge before the towne; and at their retournynge they brent certayne small hamelettes thereabout, so that the smoke therof came into the towne of Newcastell. Some of the Englysshmen wolde a yssued out to have fought with them that made the fyers, but the captayns wolde nat suffre theym to yssue out. The next day the kynge of Scottes, with a xl. thousande men, one and other, came and lodged within thre lytell Englysshe myle of Newcastell, in the lande of the lorde Nevyll; and the kyng sent to them within the towne, that if they wolde yssue out into the felde, he wolde fyght with theym gladly. The lordes and prelates of

Englande sayd, they were content to adventure their lyves, with the ryght and herytage of the kynge of Englande their mayster: than they all yssued out of the towne, and were in nombre a twelfe hundred men of armes, thre thousande archers, and sevyne thousande of other with the Walsshmen. Than the Scottes came and lodged agaynst theym, nere togyder: than every man was sette in ordre of batayle. Than the quene came amonge her men: and there was ordayned four batayls, one to ayde another. The firste had in governaunce the bishop of Dyrham, and the lorde Percy: the seconde, the archbysshoppe of Yorke, and the lorde Nevyll: the thyrde, the bysshoppe of Lyncolne, and the lorde Mombray: the fourth, the lorde Edwarde de Bayleule, captayne of Berwyke, the archbysshoppe of Canterbury, and the lorde Rose: every battayle had lyke nombre after their quantyte. The quene went fro batayle to batayle, desyring them to do their devoyre to defende the honour of her lorde the kyng of Englande, and in the name of god every man to be of good hert and courage; promysyng them that to her power she wolde remembre them as well or better as thoughe her lorde the kyng were there personally. Than the quene departed

fro them, recommendyng them to god and to saynt George. Than anone after the bataylles of the Scottes began to set forwarde, and in lyke manner so dyd thenglysshmen. Than the archers began to shote on bothe parties; but the shot of the Scottes endured but a short space: but the archers of Englande shot so feersly, so that whan the batayls aproched there was a harde batell. They began at nyne and endured tyll noone. The Scottes had great axes, sharpe and harde, and gave with them many great strokes; howbeit finally thenglysshmen obtayned the place and vyctorie, but they lost many of their men. There were slayne of the Scottes, therle of Sys, therle of Ossre, the erle of Patnys, therle of Surlant, therle Dastredare, therle of Mare, therle Johan Duglas, and the lorde Alysaunder Ramsey, who bare the kynges baner; and dyvers other knightes and squyers. And there the kynge was taken, who fought valiantly, and was sore hurt: a squyer of Northumberland toke hym, called Johan Coplande; and assone as he had taken the kynge he went with hym out of the felde, with viii. of his servauntes with hym; and soo rode al that day, tyll he was a fyftene leages fro the place of the batayle; and at nyght he came to a castell called

Orgulus.* The same day there was also taken in the felde the erle Morette, the erle of Marche, the lord Wyllyam Duglas, the lorde Robert Vesy, the bysshoppe of Dadudam, the bysshoppe of Saynt 'Andrewes,' and dyvers other knyghtes and barownes. And there were slayne, of one and other, xv. thousande; and the other saved themselfe, as well as they myght. This batell was besyde Newcastell, the yere of our lorde

* What castle this was does not appear: "*Chastell-orgueilleux*" is the language of romance. Knyghton says, David was led to Bamburgh Castle, then belonging to the lord Percy. Wallis, in his *Natural History of Northumberland*, vol. ii. p. 416, says, that Copeland, attended by only eight of his servants, carried David off in triumph to the Castle of Roxbrough, of which he was governor. It appears, however, from Ridpath's *Border History*, pp. 332, 335, that this identical castle, of which, from Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 558, it is likely enough, Copeland had been governor,—and according to Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. v. p. 760, he actually was afterward,—belonged, at that time, to the king of Scots. Ridpath further adduces, p. 338, from some historians, that the king was conveyed to Ogle Castle, which is very probable, as it had been but lately built, and sir Robert de Ogle, the then possessor, was present at the battle, where, in fact, he had a principal command. Wallis, ut sup. vol. ii. p. 551. Thus Froissart, confounding Ogle with *orgueil*, may have created his imaginary "*Chastell-orgueilleux*." Copeland's own residence was, probably, at South-Copeland, by Wooller; and not at Copeland Castle, which, at that period, belonged to a different name. It appears, from an excerpt in Leland's *Itinerary*, vol. viii. p. 50, b. that he attempted the capture of king David by the advice of Thomas Carre, his standard-bearer.

m.ccc.xlvi. the Saturday next after Saynt Mychaell.

"Whan the quene of Englande, beynge at Newcastell, understode howe the journey was for her and her men, she than rode to the place where the batayle had bene: thanne it was shewed her howe the kynge of Scottes was taken by a squyer called Johan Coplande, and he hadde caryed away the kynge no man knewe whyder. Than the quene wrote to the squyer, commaundyng hym to bring his prisoner: and howe he had nat well done to depart with hym without leave. Whan the quenes letter was brought to Johan Copland, he answered and sayd, that as for the kyng of Scottes his prisoner, he wolde nat delyver hym to no man nor woman lyving, but all onely to the kynge of England, his soverayne lorde: as for the kynge of Scottes, he sayd, he shuld be savely kept, so that he wolde gyve acompte for hym. Thanne the quene sente letters to the kyng, to Calays, wherby the kyng was enfourmed of the state of his realme. Than thg kynge sende incontynent to Johan Coplande, that he shulde come over the see to hym, to the siege before Calays. Than the same Johan dyd putte his prisoner in save kepynge in a stronge

castell, and so rode through Englande, tyll he came to Dover; and there toke the see, and arryved before Calays. Whan the kyng of England saw the squyer, he toke him by the hande, and sayd, A, welcome, my squyer, that by your valyantnesse hath taken myne adversary the kyng of Scottes. The squyer kneled downe and sayde: Sir, yf god by his grace hath suffred me to take the king of Scottes by true conquest of armes, sir, i thynke no man ought to have any envy thereat; for as wel god maye sende by his grace suche a fortune to fall to a poore squyer, as to a great lorde: and, sir, i requyre your grace be nat myscontent with me, though i dyde nat delyver the kynge of Scottes at the commaundement of the quene: sir, i, holde of you, as myne othe is to you, and nat to her, but in all good maner. The kynge sayd, Johan, the good servyce that ye have done, and your valyantnesse is so moche worthe, that hit must countervayle your trespasse, and be taken for your excuse; and shame have they that bere you any yvell wyll therfore. Ye shall retourne agayne home to your house; and thanne my pleasure is that ye delyver your prisoner to the quene my wyfe: and in a reward i assygne you, nere to your house, where as

ye thynke best yourselfe, fyve hundred pounde sterlyng of yerely rent, to you and your heyres for ever: and here i make you squyer for my body.* Thanne, the thyrde day, he departed, and retourned agayne into Englande; and whan he came home to his owne house, he assembled toguyder his frendes and kynne, and so they toke the kynge of Scottes, and rode with hym to the cytie of Yorke, and there, fro the kyng his lorde, he presented the kynge of Scottes to the quene, and excused hym so largely, that the quene and her counsell were content. Than the quene departed fro Yorke towardes London. Than she sette the kynge of Scottes in the stronge towre of London, and therle Morette, and all other prisoners; and sette good kepyng over them." *Chronicle*, vol. i. cc. 137, et seq.

Froissart, in this narrative, has embraced for truth some considerable errors. In the first place, that the queen was not in the north at this period, nor had any concern whatever in the command or direction of the army, is clear from the silence

* The king made him a banneret. The five hundred pounds a year was to be paid out of the customs of London and Berwick, till the land could be provided. See Stow's *Annales*, 1592, p. 375. *Fœdera*, vol. v. p. 5.

of our own contemporary or most ancient historians: neither was she vicegerent or warden of the kingdom, as he seems to suppose. Secondly, the battle was not "besyde Newcastell," but between Durham and a village called Kirk-Merrington, near twenty miles off. It is called *the battle of Nevil's-Cross*, from an ancient stone cross erected by one of that family, about a mile from Durham, and demolished by some puritanical enthusiasts, in 1569, near which was probably the heat or conclusion of the fight. Modern writers suppose this cross to have been erected in consequence of the battle; whereas it was clearly a well-known station at the time. The pursuit after the battle, according to Stow, continued as far as Prudhow and Corbridge, on the north side of the Tyne.

John Copland, in taking king David prisoner, according to Wynton, had two of his teeth knocked out by that monarch:

"Jhon off Cowpland thare tuk the kyng
Off forss noucht yholdyne in that takyng;
The kyng twa teth owt off his hevyd
With a dynt off a knyff hym revyd."

"This battell," says Stow, "was fought on the seventeenth of October [1346]. The prisoners were conveyed to London about Christmasse, David le Bruse except, which might not travell by reason of two deadly woundes in his head with arrowes; but the second of January he was brought up, and conveyed from Westminster to the tower of London, in sight of all the people, and there lodged in the blacke nooke of the sayde tower, neere to the constables guard, there to be kept." *Annales*, 1592, p. 374.

David was actually delivered, at York, by *Ralph de Nevill*, to Thomas de Rokeby, sheriff of Yorkshire, and by him, on the 2d of January, 1346-7, delivered into the custody of John Darcy, constable of the tower of London. Vide *Fœdera*, vol. v. p. 539. That he was taken by Copland is certain; but the contest or transaction between this gentleman and the queen, though adopted by Carte, Hume, and other modern historians, seems nothing more than an ill-founded report, not to believe it the invention of Froissart, to do honour to his country-woman.

That Edward Baliol had some command in the English army at the battle of Durham is highly

probable, but it cannot be accurately ascertained. See lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 213. Hutchinson's *History of Durham*, vol. ii. p. 337.

"Cuthbert of Dorem," noticed at p. 44, is saint Cuthbert; concerning whom, see Hutchinson, ut supra, vol. i. p. 20.

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IX. How king Edward and his menze Met with the Spaniardes in the see.]

"In the sommer '1350,' variance rising betweene the fleets of England and Spaine, the Spaniards beset the Brytaine sea, with 44 great shippes of warre, with the which they sunke ten English ships comming from Gascoigne towardes Englande, after they had taken and spoyled them; and thus their former injuries being revenged, they entred into Sluce in Flanders.

"King Edwarde understanding heereof, furnished his navie of fiftie shippes and pinaces, forecasting to meete with the Spaniards in their returne, having iu his company the prince of Wales, the earles of Lancaster, North-hampton, Warwicke, Salisburie, Arundale, Huntington, Glocester, and other barons and knightes, with their

servants and archers, and upon the feast of the decolation of S. John, about evensong time, the navies mette at Winchelsea, where the great Spanish vessels surmounting our ships and foystes, like as castles to cottages, sharply assailed our men; the stones and quarels flying from the tops, sore and cruelly wounded our men, who no lesse busie to fight aloofe with launce and sword, and with the foreward manfully defend themselves; at length our archers pearced their arbalisters with a further retch than they could strike againe, and thereby compelled them to forsake their place, and caused other fighting from the hatches to shade themselves with tables of the ships, and compelled them that threw stones from the toppes, so to hide them, that they durst not shew their heades, but tumble downe: then our men entring the Spanish vessels with swords and halberds, kill those they meete, within a while make voyde the vessels, and furnish them with Englishmen, until they, beeing besette with darkenesse of the night, could not discern the 27 yet remaining untaken: our men cast anker, studying of the hoped battell, supposing nothing finished whilest any thing remained undone, dressing the wounded, throwing the miserable Spaniards into

the sea, refreshing themselves with victuals and sleepe, yet committing the vigilant watche to the armed bande. The night overpassed, the Englishmen prepared (but in vain) to a new battel; but when the sunne began to appeare, they viewing the seas, coulde perceive no signe of resistance; for 27 ships flying away by night, left 17 spoiled in the evening to the king's pleasure, but against their will.

"The king returned into England with victory and triumph: the king preferred there eighty noble ympes to the order of knighthood, greatly bewayling the losse of one, to wit, syr Richard Goldesborough, knight." Stow's *Annales*, 1592, p. 385.

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X. How gentill sir Edward, with his grete engines,
Wan with his wight men the castell of Gynes.]

The best historical account of this captue seems to be that given by Stow, Froissart and Fabian but slightly mentioning it.

"About the beginning of Januarie [1352], the Frenchmen being occupied about the repayr-

ing of the walles of Guisnes towne, being afore that time destroyed by the Englishmen, some men of armes of Caleis, understanding their doings, devised howe they might overthrow the worke, in this sort. There was an archer named John Dancaster, in prison in the castell of Guisnes, before that time taken, who not having wherewith to pay his raunsome, was let loose, with condition that hee should worke there among the Frenchmen. This fellow chanced to lye with a laundres, a strumpet, & learned of her where beyond the principall ditch, from the bottome of the ditch, there was a wall made of two foote broade, stretching from the rampiers to the brimme of the ditch within forth, so that being covered with water it could not be sene, but not so drowned, but that a man going aloft thereon should not bee wette past the knees, it being made for the use of fishers; and therefore in the middest it was discontinued for the space of two foote: and so the archer (his harlot shewing it to him) measured the heyght of the wall with a threede. These thinges thus knowen, one day slipping downe from the wall, he passed the ditch by that hidden wall, and lying hidde in the marsh til evening, came in the night neare unto Caleis,

where tarying for the cleare day, hee then went into the towne (for else he might not); here he instructed them that were greedie of pray to 'scale the castell, and' howe they might enter the same: they caused ladders to be made to the length by the archer appointed. Thirtie men conspired togither, clothing themselves in blacke armour without any brightnesse, went to the castel, by the guiding of the said John de Dancaster, and climing the wall with their ladders, they slewe the watchmen, and threwe them downe headlong beside the wall: after this, in the hall they slew many, whome they found unarmed, playing at the chesse and hazard. Then they brake into the chambers and turrets, upon the ladies and knights that lay there asleepe, and so were masters of all that was within: and shutting all their prisoners into a strong chamber, being bereft of all their armour, they tooke oute the Englishmen that had bene taken the yeere before, and there kept in prison; and after they had relieved them well with meate and drinke, they made them guardens over them that had them in custodie: and so they wanne all the fortresses of the castell, unknowen to them that were in the towne (appointed to oversee the repayring of the broken walles) what

had happened to them within the castell. In the morning they commaunded the workemen in the towne to cease from their workes, who thereupon, perceiving that the castell was wonne, streightwayes fledde; and the newe *Castilians* suffered the ladies to depart on horsebacke, with their apparell, writings and muniments, where [by] they ought to hold their fees: and the same day there came from Caleis to their ayde such persons as they sent for, by whose ayde they kept the castell: and about three of the clocke there came two knights, sent from the earle of Guisnes, who, demanding a truce, willed to know of them that were thus entred the castell, who they were, to whom they belonged, and by whose authority they kept the castell, so taken in the time of truce; whereunto they answered, that being intruded, they woulde not declare to any man their purpose, till they had tryed a longer possession; and therefore, on saint Mawrice day the abbot, (the king being busie in parliament) 'some' Frenchmen, being sent from the sayde earle of Guisnes, declared how, in prejudice of the truce the sayd castell was taken, and therefore by right of mutuall faith it ought to be restored unto them. The king answered, that without his knowledge that enterprise was

made, and therefore he gave commandement to his subjectes that none of them should deteyne the castell of 'Guisnes,' but deliver it unto the lawfull lordes thereof. The messengers being returned home, and reporting what they had done, the earle of Guisnes commeth to the castell, demanding of them within, as at other times, in whose names they kept it; who constantly affirming that they kept it in the name of John Dancaster, hee required to knowe if the same John were the king of Englands liegeman, or would obey him; who answering that hee knewe not what messengers had beene in England, the earle offered for the castell, besides all the treasure found in it, many thousands of crownes or possessions for exchange, and a perpetuall peace with the king of Fraunce. To this they answered, that before the taking of that castell they were Englishmen by nation, but by their demerites bannished for the peace of the king of England, wherefore the place which they thus helde they would willingly sell or exchange, but to none sooner than to their naturall king of England, to whom, they said, they would sell their castell to obtaine their peace: but if he would not buy it, then they would sell it to the king of France, or to whomsoever would give the most for it.

"The earle being thus shifted of from them, the king of England bought it in deede, and so had that place which hee greatly desired." *Annales*, 1592, p. 388.

L. 5. *Both the lely and the lipard.*] The author alludes to the armorial ensigns of the two kingdoms. That the LIONS in the English shield were originally LEOPARDS is a fact not to be disputed. Thus Langtoft, as rendered by his ingenious translator, Robert of Brunne, speaking of the battle of Falkirk:

> "Thei sauh kynges banere, raumpand thre LEBARDES."

See also Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, song the eleventh, and the learned Selden's illustrations on the same.

GLOSSARY.

GLOSSARY.

AILED, p. 41.

AIRE, p. 14. Heir.

ALBIDENE, p. 34. From time to time, one after another. The word *bidene* is generally used for presently, in a short time, by and by; none of which senses seem to suit the present text: and the meaning is as doubtful in other places. Thus, in the ancient manuscript metrical romance of *Ywaine and Gawin*:

> " His hert he has set *albydene*,
> Whar himself dar noght be sene."

Again:

> " The king himself, & als the quene,
> & other knightes *albidene*."

Again:

> "Now sal you have noght bot their awin,
> That is the half of *al bydene*."

See BIDENE. BYDENE.

ALBLAST, p. 16. More properly ARBLAST; *arcbaleste*, FR. *Arcu-balista*, LAT. a cross-bow; put in the text for the *arbalister*, or cross-bow-man. Fabian uses *Arblasters* for cross-bows, (see p. 76 ante,) as Stow does *Arbalisters*, for cross-bow-men. Thus also Robert of Brunne:

> "That sauh an *alblastere*, a quarelle lete he flie."

ALD, p. 8. Old.

ALLANE, p. 44. Alone.

ALLS, p. 4. Also. ALS, p. 3, l. 4. As.—L. 19. Also.

ALWELDAND, p. 28. All-wielding, all-governing.

ARE, p. 31. Ere, before.

ASCRY. HERD ASCRY, p. 14. Heard it spoken, cried, reported, or proclaimed.

ASSOYL, p. 12. Absolve.

AT, p. 2. To.

AVANCE, p. 39. AVAUNCE, p. 4. Advance.

B.

BADE, p. 20. Abode.

BALDE, p. 49. Bold.

BALDELY, p. 20. BALDLY, p. 11. Boldly.

BALE, p. 1. Evil, misery, sorrow.

BAN, p. 38. Curse.

BARE, p. 26. Boar. See the note.

BAVERE, p. 8. Bavaria.

BEDE, pp. 6, 19. Offer.

BELD, p. 27. Refuge, help, protection.

BEME, p. 16. Bohemia.

BERE, p. 24. Bier. BROGHT ON BERE. Dead.

BERE-BAG, pp. 7, 41. Bag-bearer, carry-sack, wallet-man. Froissart, describing the manners of the Scots, during their military expeditions, says: "They cary with them none other purveyance, but on their horse bitwene the saddyll and the pannell they trusse a brode plate of metall, and behynde the saddyll they wyll have a *lytel sacke*, full of ootemele, to the entent, that whan they have eaten of the sodden flesshe, than they ley this plate on the fyre, and tempre a lytel of the otemele; & whan the plate is hote, they cast of the thyn paste theron, and so make a lytle cake in

maner of a crakenell or bysket, and that they eate to comforte withall theyr stomaks. Wherfore it is no great merveile though they make greatter journeys than other people do." *Chronicle*, ut supra, vol. i. chap. 17.

John of Hexham observes, that the field where the battle of the standard was fought, in 1138, obtained the name of *Baggamor*, from the sacks or wallets left thereon by the enemy. *Decem Scriptores*, p. 262.

BESY, p. 2. Busy, active, officious.

BETES, p. 7, l. 9. Beats, walks up and down. See *batre les rues, batre le pavé*, in Cotgrave's *Dictionary*.

BETES, p. 7, l. 12. Amends, heals, cures.

BID, p. 1. Offer, prefer, put up.

BIDENE, or ALL BIDENE, p. 11. Presently, immediately; as also, (p. 37,) in process of time, or, perhaps, one after another. See ALBIDENE. BYDENE.

BIFORN, p. 12. Before.

BIG, p. 29.

BIG, p. 35. Build, erect. BIGGED him, p. 33. Lodged him, posted himself, made his dwelling or habitation, taken up his residence.

BIGING, p. 7. Dwelling, habitation.

BIKER, p. 20. Bicker, skirmish.—P. 51. Assail, attack.

BILEVID, p. 10. Was left, remained.—P. 30. Are left, are remaining.

BLIN, p. 21. Cease. BLINNED, p. 21. Ceased.

BONE, pp. 1, 15. Prayer, request.

BOT, p. 6. Both; as we should, probably, read.

BOT, p. 13. But.

BOTE, p. 15. Boot, amends, remedy, help.

BOUN, p. 51. BOUNE, p. 24. Ready prepared.

BOURE, p. 35. Habitation.

BRADE, p. 20. Broad.

BRAK, p. 29. Broke.

BRANDES, p. 29. Fire-brands, things on fire.

BREMS, p. 22. (Perhaps BRENIS.) Corslets; as in the ancient manuscript Scotish metrical romance, in the Editor's possession, entitled the *Aunter of sir Gawane*, surreptitiously printed, in 1792, by John Pinkerton:

> "Shene sheldes were shred,
> Bright *brenes* by bled."

See also the Glossary to Bishop Douglas's Virgil, in the word BYRNIE.

BREND, p. 10. Burned.

BRENE, p. 23. Burn.
BRID, p. 4. Bird
BRIG, p. 7. Bridge.
BRIN, p. 10. Burn.
BUD, p. 10. Behoved, must.
BURGASE, p. 37. Burgesses.
BURGHES, p. 7. Boroughs.
BURJASE, p. 18. Burgesses.
BUSK, p. 7. Hye.
BUTE, p. 1. See BOTE.
BYDENE, p. 15. After or beyond them. The word occurs, with an apparently similar sense, in the *Aunter of sir Gawane:*

> "Bothe the kyng and the quene,
> And al the doughti *bydene.*"

Again:

> "They shullen dye on a day, the doughty *bydene.*"

Its etymology is uncertain; the one, at least, conjectured by some, i. e. by the even, as *belive*, a term of similar signification, they think, comes from *by le eve*, is altogether unsatisfactory. See ALBIDENE. BIDENE.

C.

CAITEFES, p. 4. Caitifs, wretches.

CANT, p. 30. Brisk, in high spirits: the word *canty* is still used in Scotland with this sense.

CANTLY, p. 20. Briskly.

CLERKES, p. 40. Learned men.

CLIP, p. 23. Embrace.

COME, p. 9. Came.

CONFORT, p. 13. Comfort.

CONIG, p. 37. Coney, rabbit.

COVAITISE, p. 4. Covetousness.

CUMAND, p. 10. Commanded.

CUMEN, p. 18. Come.

D.

DALE, pp. 1, 2. Valley; used metonymically for the world or earth, which is still frequently termed a vale of misery.

DARE, p. 2. Stare, as one terrified or amazed. DAREAND, p. 3. Staring, &c.

DED, p. 34. Deed.

DELE, p. 9. Quantity.

DENE, p. 23. Den, habitation.

DERE, p. 2. Hurt, harm, injury, trouble, vexation.

DERE, p. 3. Hurt, harm, vex, &c.

DERN, p. 2. Cruel, severe.

DID, p. 20. Caused, made.

DIGHT, p. 4. Dressed.—pp. 19, 22, 50. Dressed, addressed, prepared, made ready. DIGHTES, p. 27. Addresses, prepares. So, in the old romance of *Syr Degore:*

> " All thyng redy to souper he *dyghte.*"

DINT, p. 2. Stroke. DINTES, p. 23. Strokes.

DO, p. 47. Cause, make.

DOLE, p. 4. Sorrow, grief.—P. 31. Share, portion.

DOMP, p. 47. Plunge, plump, fall, or be thrown.

DONGEN, p. 29. Dung, thrown.

DONE, p. 2. Do, cause.—P. 39. Caused, made.

DOWT, p. 23. Doubt, be doubtful or suspicious.

DRAY, p. 35. Noise, riotous mirth; *desroy*, Fr. So, in a celebrated Scotish poem:

> " Was never in Scotland hard nor sene
> Sic dansing and *deray.*"

DRESCE, p. 1. Dress, address, direct.

DREWRIS, p. 31. Jewels, ornaments of dress, things, rich and valuable. Thus, in the ancient manuscript metrical romance of *Ywaine and Gawin:*

> " The lady made ful meri chere
> Sho was al dight with *drewris* der."

E.

EGHEN, p. 29. Eyes.
ER, p. 4. Are.
ERTOU, p. 31. Art thou.
ES, p. 2. Is.
ETH, p. 20. Easy.
EVERILKA, p. 51. Every.

F.

FAINE, p. 50. Eager.
FAIRE, pp. 16, 29. Fairly.
FAMEN, p. 25. Foemen, enemies.
FAND, p. 10. Found.
FARE, p. 2, l. 5. Go, speed.
FARE, p. 5, l. 16.
FELDE, p. 16. Field.
FELE, p. 8. Many, several.
FELL, p. 19. Fierce, cruel, wicked, malicious.
FELONY, p. 27. Villany, wickedness, malice, treason, treachery, mischief.
FER, p. 20. Far.
FERD, pp. 14, 18. Fared, went.
FERD, pp. 15, 16, l. 5. Feared, afraid.
FERD, p. 17, l. 3. FERDE, p. 14. Fear.

FERE, p. 24. Companion.

FERR, p. 46. Farer, further. The line, however, should, probably, be read:

"Flit might thai no *ferr*"

FERRUM, O FERRUM, p. 29. Afar off.

FILE, pp. 31, 36. A coward, perhaps, or worthless person. The word is also used by Robert of Brunne:

"David at that while was with Edward the kyng,
Zit avanced he that *file* untille a faire thing."

Hearne, at random, explains it by "fool, thread, trifle."

FINE, p. 46. End.

FLEAND, p. 29. Fleeing, flying.

FLEMID, p. 3. Banished.

FLIT, p. 46. Remove.

FODE, FREELY FODE, p. 25. Freely fed, gently nurtured, well-bred, *sub.* youth, or young person; from the Saxon *foedan*, to feed; a frequent expression in old metrical romances. Thus, in that of *Tristrem:*

"Her sorwen and her care
Thai with that frely *fode.*"

Again, in *Ywayne and Gawin:*

"My daughter, fayrest *fode* olyve."

It is likewise used by Winton:

> "Syne Saxon and the Scottis blude
> Togyddyr is in yhon frely *fwde*."

FOLD, p. 35.

FONDE, p. 39. Attempt, endeavour, strive.

FONE, p. 7. Few.

FORTHI, p. 29. Therefore, for that reason.

FORWARD, p. 43. Promise, covenant.

FOUNDED, p. 2. Went, issued.

FRA, p. 3. From.

FRANCEIS, p. 31. Frenchman.

FRANKIS, p. 22. Franks, a denomination of French money, answering at present to the *livre Tournois*.

FREK, pp. 2, 15. Perhaps, ready, eager. The word *frakly*, nimbly, swiftly, hastily, is used by Bishop Douglas.

FRELY, p. 25. Freely. See FODE.

FRITH, p. 9. Wood.

FRO, p. 28. From, from the time that

FUN, p. 38. Found.

FUNDEN, p. 36. Found.

FUNE, p. 7. Few.

FYNE, p. 50.

G.

GAF, p. 16. Gave.
GASE, p. 7. Goes.
GASTE, (HALY GASTE,) p. 13. Holy Ghost.
GATE, p. 28. Way.
GAUDES, p. 5. Tricks. So Winton:

> "But this kyng Edward all wyth *gawdys*
> Knakkyd Robert the Brws wyth frawdis."

GENEUAYSE, p. 32. Genoese.
GEDER, p. 48. Gather, meet.
GER, p. 27. Cause. GERT, p. 9. Caused.
GESTES, p. 50. Guests.
GET, p. 7. An interjection of contempt.
GIFF, p. 16. Give.
GILE, p. 5. Guile, deceit, treachery.
GLE, p. 10. Mirth.
GODE, p. 11. Goods, property.
GRAME, p. 18. Harm, mischief.
GRAYTHEST, p. 28. Readiest, nearest, best.
GUDE, p. 6. Good.
GUDE, p. 12. Goods.

H.

HALD, p. 9. Hold.
HALELY, p. 17. Wholly.

HALY, p. 13. See GAST.

HAT, p. 16. Was called.

HAVED, HAVES, p. 42. Had, has.

HELE, p. 49. Health.

HELE, p. 22. Hide, conceal. HELIS, p. 22. Hide, conceal.

HEND, p. 9. Hand.

HENDE, p. 22. Kind, gentle.

HENT, p. 22. Caught.

HERE, p. 46. Hair.

HERES, p. 33. Hear.

HERIED, p. 27. Harried, spoiled, ravaged, plundered. Jesus Christ, after his resurrection, made a hostile descent or irruption into hell, and, armed with his cross,—the devils, terrified, perhaps, by so unusual a weapon, not daring to oppose him,—carried off a number of damned souls. See a curious representation of this transaction in Hearne's edition of Forduni *Scotichronicon*, p. 1403.

HERNES, p. 10. Brains.

HETES, p. 7. Threatens.—P. 24. Promises.

HEVIDDES, p. 16. Heads.

HEVIDLES, p. 12. Headless.

HEVYD, p. 10. Head.

HIGHT, p. 26. Was called.

HINDE, p. 42. Gentle, courteous.
HIRE, p. 12.
HOVED, p. 11. Hovered, remained.
HURDIS, p. 46. Ropes.

I.

ILK, p. 11. ILKA, p. 2. Each, every. ILK ONE, p. 37. Every one.
INE, p. 29. Eyes.
INES, p. 13. Inn, lodging, residence.
INOGH, p. 18, Enough.

J.

JAPES, p. 13. Tricks, jeers, mocks.
JORNAY, p. 9. Journey, expedition; *journée*, FR.

K.

KAITEFS, p. 20. Caitifs, knaves.
KAYES, p. 7. Keys.
KAYSER, p. 8. Emperor.
KEN, p. 21. Know.—P. 23. Teach. KEND, p. 42. Taught.
KENE, p. 6. Keen, sharp, fierce, cruel.—pp. 19, 20. Bold.
KID, p. 4. Known.
KIRK, p. 4. Church.

KIRTELL. p. 36. Tunic or waistcoat.
KITH, p. 20. Shew.
KOUTH, p. 20. Could, knew, was master of.
KUMLY, p. 30. Comely.
KUN, p. 38. Can, knows how.

L.

LARE, p. 18. Doctrine.
LAT, p. 30. Let.
LAW, p. 30. Low.
LAYKES, p. 10. Plays, sports, pastimes.
LEDEING, p. 36. Leading, management.
LELE, p. 9. True. LELY, p. 28. Truly.
LELY, p. 47. LELY-FLOWRE, p. 17. The lily or flower-de-luce. FLOURE DE LICE, p. 14. *Fleur de lis*, FR. the national or royal shield of France being a blue field, powdered with those flowers, since reduced to three. See p. 164, ante.
LEN, p. 51. Lend; i. e. lend him grace.
LEND, p. 9. Stayed, remained. So in *Ywaine and Gawin:*

> "Sir Ywaine wald no lenger *lend*,
> But redies him fast for to wend."

LENDED, p. 36.

LERE, pp. 20, 23. Learn, teach. AT LERE THEM, to learn or teach themselves.—P. 36. Learn. LESED, p. 18. Taught.

LET, p. 40. Hinder. LETES, p. 40. Stops, hinders. LETT, p. 10. Hindered, put a stop to.

LEVE, p. 18. Believe. LEVES, p. 12. Believe.

LEVED, p. 44.

LEVID, p. 3. Left.

LIF, p. 14. Live. LIFES, p. 12. Lives.

LIG, p. 29. Lie. LIGAND, p. 37. Lying. LIGGES, p. 12. Lie.

LIST, p. 23.

LITHES, p. 1. Listen, attend, hear, hearken.

LIVE, p. 5. Life.

LOUT, p. 23. Honour; properly to bow.—pp. 30. 44. Bow down, stoop.

LYSTENS, p. 36. Listen.

M.

MA, p. 3. More.

MAIN, p. 25. MAINE, p. 5. Corporal strength, force. MAIN AND MODE, p. 25. Body and mind.

MAISTRI, p. 12. Force, power.

MAKED, p. 3. MAKKED, p. 27. Made.

MANE, p. 12. Moan.

MASE, p. 35. Make.
MASTE, p. 13. Most.
MAWGRE, p. 3. Despite.
MEDE, pp. 3, 24, 51. Reward.
MEKIL, p. 20. MEKILL, p. 5. Much, great.
MENID, p. 18. Meant, intended.
MENZE, pp. 5, 13. Followers, retinue: *mesnie*, FR.
MIDDELERD, p. 1. The earth.
MISLIKED, p. 28. Disliked.
MISLIKING, p. 28. Dislike, displeasure.
MO, p. 8. More.
MODE, p 25. Mind, spirit. See MAIN.
MODY, p. 19. Brave, spirited.
MOLD, p. 34. Earth.
MONE, p. 1. Moon.
MONÈ, p. Money.
MOT, p. 3. May.
MOTE, p. 23. Meet.
MUN, p. 3. Must.

N.

NAKERS, p. 16. Tymbals; a species of martial music adopted from the Saracens.
NANE, p. 12. None.
NAVERNE, p. 16. Navarre.

NE, p. 6. Nor.

NEGHED, p. 46. Nighed, approached, drew near to.

NERR, p. 46. Near.

NOGHT, p. 2, l. 8. Not.—P. 10. Nothing.—Es NOGHT AT HIDE, p. 2, l. 12. It signifies nothing to conceal it.

NOKES, p. 26. Nooks, corners.

NOMEN, p. 43. Took.

NOWTHER, p. 30. Neither.

O.

OGAINES, p. 2. OGAINS, p. 14. Against.

OGAYN, p. 2. Again.

OLIVE, p. 19. Alive.

OMANG, p. 30. Among.

OR, p. 10. Before.

OWAY, p. 19. Away.

P.

PALET, p. 31. Head, scull, crown, pate. Pinkerton, in one of the miserable pieces of guesswork he is pleased to call a *glossary*, interprets "BREAK your PALLAT"—"CUT your THROAT."

PALL, p. 30. Fine cloth, used for the robes of kings and princes.

> " Sometime let gorgeous Tragedy,
> In sceptred *pall*, come sweeping by."

The word, at last, became significant rather of the shape than the quality of the garment, as we sometimes read of " a *pall* of white silk." See Langham's *Letter from Killingworth*, 1575, reprinted, with Notes, by the Editor, in 1821, 8vo. It is now confined to the ornamental covering of black velvet used in funeral processions.

PAY, p. 8. Content, satisfaction.

PELERS, p. 6. Pillars.

PENCELL, p. 28. A small streamer.

PERE, p. 28. Peer, equal.

PINE, pp. 29, 50. Pain.

PITAILE, p. 28. Foot soldiers. *Pitaille*, FR.

PLATE, p. 28. Mail, armour, as breast-plate, back-plate. Thus Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, V. viii. 29:

> " So, forth he came, all in a coat of *plate*."

PLEYN THAM, p. 29, Complain.

POLLED, p. 31. Shaven.

POVRE, p. 12. Poor. *Pauvre*, FR.

PRESE, p. 5. Press, crowd.

PREST, p. 20. Ready.

PRIKED, p. 6. Riden.

PRISE, p. 2. Price, value.—P. 14. Prize, praise, esteem.

PROVED, p. 27. Strove, tried.

PURVAY, p. 14. Provide, prepare.

Q.

QUELL, p. 4. Kill.

QUITE, p. 31. Quit.

R.

RAILED, p. 16. Set, placed.

RAPELY, p. 24. Briskly, hastily, soon, quickly.

RAPES, p. 37. Ropes.

RATHLY, p. 29. Soon, quickly.—P. 24. Eagerly, readily.

RAW, p. 16. Row.

REDE, p. 9. Advice, counsel.

REDE, p. 46. Advise, counsel.

REDLES, p. 22.

REN, p. 34. Run.

RESE, p. 28.

REVED, p. 12. Robbed, taken away.

RIG, p. 29. Back.

RIGHTWIS, p. 30. Righteous, just.

RIVELING, p. 7. This word is used, as an adjective, by Chaucer, in his *Romant of the Rose*, with the signification of wrinkled:

> " Or botis *riveling* as a gipe;"

whence it may be supposed to mean, in the text, a man shrivelled or wrinkled with hunger. It is, however, found to occur, as a substantive, in Robert Mannyng's Translation of Peter Langtoft's *Chronicle:*

> " Thou scabbed Scotte, thi nek thi hotte, the develle it breke,
> It salle be hard to here Edward ageyn the speke.
> He salle the ken, our lond to bren, & werre biginne,
> Thou getes no thing, bot thi *rivelyng*, to hang ther inne."

Its meaning, at the same time, is still uncertain; but unless it exist, in other passages, as an adjective, it is most absurdly, and, at any rate, imperfectly, interpreted by Hearne, "turning in and out, wriggling." See RUGH-FUTE.

RODE, p. 25. Rood, cross.

ROMANCE, pp. 26, 33. Story; any historical relation in vulgar poetry. The word is frequently used by Robert of Brunne in the sense of common history, as well as for his French original.

RUGH-FUTE, p. 7. Rough-foot, rough-footed. Our author probably alludes to a sort of shoes, called *rullions*, made by the Scots from the raw hide with the hair on. They are mentioned by Bishop Douglas, in his "sevynth booke of *Eneados*:"

"There left fute and al thare leg was bare,
Ane *rouch rilling of raw hyde and of hare*,
The tothir fute coverit wele and knyt."

Blind Harry, about 1460, makes young Selby taunt his hero, Wallace, in the following terms:

"He callyt on hym, and said, Thou Scot, abyde!
Quha dewill the grathis in so gay a wyde?
Ane Ersche mantill it was thi kynd to wer,
A Scotts thewittil undyr thi belt to ber,
Rouch rowlyngs apon thi harlot fete,
Giff me thi knyff, quhat dois thi ger sa mete?"

The word *rewelyngs*, in the sense of rullions or brogues, is repeatedly used by Andrew of Wyntown.

S.

SAD, p. 18. Serious, grave, solemn.

SAINE, p. 5. Say.

SAKLES, p. 6. Guiltless, blameless, innocent.

SAL, p. 18. Shall.

SALTOU, p. 46. Shalt thou.

SALVE, p. 18.

SARE, p. 2. Sore.

SARI, p. 29. SARY, p. 4. Sorry.

SAUL, p. 8. Soul.

SAWES, p. 18. Sayings, discourses.

SAWLS, p. 21. Souls.

SCHAC, p. 14. Shake.

SCHAWES, p. 48. Woods.

SCHELTRON, p. 20. A body of foot, in a compact circle; so called, it would seem, from the appearance of their shields; which, together with that of their spear-points, might also give occasion to the epithet *shene* or shining. See Peter Langtoft's *Chronicle*, by Robert of Brunne, p. 304, and Hearne's *Glossary*.

SCHENDE, p. 23. Ruin.

SCHENE, p. 20. Bright, shining.

SCHENT. p. 5. Ruined.

SCHILTEROUNS, p. 22. See SCHELTRON.

SCHREWES, p. 41. Villains, wretches.
SCHRIVE, p. 46. Confess thyself.
SELAND, p. 11. Zealand.
SEMBLAND, p. 30. Semblance, appearance.
SEMBLED, p. 11. Assembled.
SEN, p. 12. Since.
SENIN, p. 42. After, afterward.
SERE, p. 43. Several.
SERGANTES, p. 19. Serjeants; a sort of *gens d'armes*, according to M. le Grand.
SKRITH, p. 20.
SLAKE, p. 18. Assuage, quench.
SLIKE, p. 2. Such.
SLOGH, pp. 6, 12. Slew.
SMALE, p. 1. Small.
SNAPER, p. 46.
SNELL, p. 19. Keen, sharp.
SOCORE, p. 1. Succour.
SONE, p. 1. Soon.
SOWED, p. 18.
STALWORTHLY, p. 15. Stoutly, vigorously, valiantly.
STAREAND, p. 10. Staring.
STEDE, p. 3. Steed, horse.
STEDE, p. 9. Stead, place, room.
STEREN, p. 6. Stern, fierce.

STERNES, p. 10. Stars.

STIF, p. 16. Stout.

STILE, p. 5. A set of steps to pass out of one field into another.

STINT, p. 19. Stopped, ended.

STIRT, p. 49. Started, leaped, rushed, passed hastily.

STOUND, p. 21. Space of time.

STOWRE, p. 5. Fight, battle.

STRENKITH, p. 25. Strengthen.

STRENKITH, p. 47. Strength.

STRIVE, p. 19. Strife.

STROY, p. 10. Destroy.

SULD, p. 4. Should.

SUTH, p. 4. Sooth, truth.

SUTH, p. 18. Sooth, true.

SWELT, p. 49. Dyed.

SWINK, p. 16. Labour.

SWIRE, p. 37. Neck.

SWITH, p. 20. Quick.

T.

TABURNS, p. 45. Tabors, drums.

TARETTES, p. 11.

TENE, p. 20. Sorrow, grief, trouble, affliction.

THA, p. 20. The.

THAREOGAYNE, p. 9. Thereagainst.

THIR, p. 10. These.

THO, p. 41. Those.

TIDE, p. 4. Betid.

TIGHT, p. 22.

TIMBER, p. 22. Destruction. The word occurs, as a verb, in the *Aunter of sir Gawane:*

"Thus shall a Tyber untrue *tymber* with tene."

TINT, p. 32. Lost

TITHANDES, p. 10. Tidings.

TO-DONGYN, p. 32. Dung down, overthrown.

TRAIS, p. 32. Betray.

TRAISTED, p. 15. Trusted.

TREGET, p. 31. Deceit, treachery, juggling, imposture.

TREST, p. 32. Trust.

TREW, p. 1. True.

TRAY, p. 22. A word nearly synonimous, perhaps, with TENE, (which see,) and generally used in its company. See Robert of Brunne, pp. 235, 304, and p. 103, ante.

TRONE, p. 1. Throne.

TROW, p. 24. Believe.

TRUS, p. 50.

TYDE, p. 2. Time.
TYLL, p. 1. To.
TYNE, p. 46. Lose.

U.

UMSET, p. 30. Beset; a contraction, perhaps, of *umbeset*, a word used by Wintown:

"And *wmbeset* the Scottis there."

UMSTRIDE, p. 16. Bestride.
UNCURTAYSE, p. 32. Uncourteous.
UNHALE, p. 24. Unsound.
UNKIND, p. 18. Unnatural.
UNSELE, p. 41.

W.

WAIT, p. 4.
WAKKIND, p. 43. Awakened. WAKKINS, p. 22. Awakens.
WALD, p. 2. Would.
WALL, p. 21.
WALLD, p. 15. Would.
WANE, p. 11. Quantity, plenty. Thus, in *Ywayn and Gawin:*

"Of maidens was thar so *gude wane*
That ilka knight might tak ane."

WANIAND, pp. 19, 41, 45. Decrease or wane of the moon.

WAPIN, p. 19. Weapon.

WAPIND, p. 14. Weaponed, armed.

WAPPEN, p. 41. Weapon.

WAR, p. 6.

WEDE, p. 19. Apparel.

WEDER, p. 15. Weather.

WELE, p. 3. Well. WERLDLY WELE, p. 8. Worldly wealth.

WELL, p. 19. Very.—P. 31. Good fortune.

WEN, p. 11. Go, or went. It should, probably, be *wend.*

WEND, p. 4. Go.

WEND, WENED, p. 10. Thought, supposed, conjectured.

WENT, p. 22. Gone.

WEPEAND, p. 36. Weeping.

WERE, p. 2. War. WERE MEN, p. 45. Men of war.

WERY, p. 7. Curse. So in the *Aunter of sir Gawane:*

> "But he shal wring his honde and *warry* the wyle."

WEX, p. 12. Waxed, grew, became.

WHILKE, p. 9. Which, what.
WHILUM, p. 34. Sometime, formerly.
WHORE, p. 40. Where.
WHOTE, pp. 4, 8. Wotest, knowest.
WIGHT, p. 16. Strong, stout.
WIKKED, p. 49. Difficult.
WILTOU, p. 7. Wilt thou.
WIN, p. 49. Take, get.
WIT, p. 14. Informed. SENT EDWARD TO WIT, p. 19. Sent to inform him, sent him information.
WITHOWTEN, p. 8. Without.
WITTEN, p. 26. Know.
WODE, p. 25. Mad.
WON, p. 7. Dwell. WONAND, p. 25. Dwelling.
WONDE, p. 40. Stop, stay.
WONE, p. 14. Number, company.
WONEN, p. 29. Won, got.
WONING, p. 13. Dwelling, residence, habitation. P. 48. Place.
WONNEN, ES WONNEN, p. 19. Are won, are had as easily, or are as perfectly at mercy, as an unarmed man.—P. 34. Won. got.
WORTHLI, p. 19. WORTHLY, p. 45. Worthy.
WREKE, p. 48. Revenge. WROKEN, p. 6. Revenged.

WROTE, p. 33. Undermine, overthrow; properly to root up as swine do. *Wrotan*, SAX.

WURTHI, p. 21. Worthy.

Z.

ZATE, p. 38. Gate.—Note, this character, ȝ, at the beginning of a syllable, had, uniformly, the power of *y*; in the middle of one it had, usually, that of *gh*: but it never occurs in the latter situation throughout these poems.

ZERE, p. 12. Years.

ZIT, p. 19. Yet.

ZOLDEN, p. 37. Yielded, delivered up.

ZONG, p. 8. Young.

ZOW, p. 1. You.

ZOW, p. 6. Your.

FINIS.

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